00085762

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 03 December, 2015

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY BOMBAY BRANCH

OVERFLOW OF THE NILE.

FROM THE PYRAMIDS, LOOKING TOWARDS CAIRO.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE CRIMEA, TURKEY,

AND

EGYPT;

PERFORMED DURING THE YEARS 1825—1828,

INCLUDING PARTICULARS OF

THE LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER,
AND OF THE RUSSIAN CONSPIRACY IN 1825.

85762

BY THE LATE

JAMES WEBSTER, ESQ.
OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN AND RICHARD BENTLEY,
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1830.

910.8
Web/Tra
85762

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

Page

CHAPTER I.

Alexandria—Pompey's Pillar—Cleopatra's Needle—Visit to the Pacha Mahomed Ali—New Seraglio—the Catacombs—Destructive Indolence of the Turks—Social Life among the Franks at Alexandria—Departure for Cairo—Fouah—Interview with the Governor—His Fondness for Raki—His Cunning—Banks of the Nile—First Sight of the Pyramids—Boulak—Cairo—Mr. Salt—Mr. B.—Costumes at Cairo—Site of Heliopolis—Bazaar—Visit to the Pyramids—Return to Cairo—Tombs at old Cairo—that of the Grand-daughter of the Prophet—Tombs of the Mamlukes—the Maturia 1

CHAPTER II.

Mahomed Ali, Pacha of Egypt—Murad and Ibrahim, the ruling Beys of the Mamlukes—Murad and Murat—the Character of the two Beys—Battle of the Pyramids—Osman Tambourji, Murad's Successor—Ibrahim, Shiek El Belled—Sir David Baird—Massacre of the Mamlukes—Mahomed Kosrouf—the Defeat of Youssuf Bey and Mahomed Ali—Reflections..... 31

Page

CHAPTER III.

Birth of Mahomed Ali—Dreams of his Mother previously to his Birth—Taken under the Protection of the Governor of Cavalla —Mahomed wins his Patron's Favour by his Boldness—Marries —His Children—French Expedition to Egypt—The Sublime Porte's Determination—The Governor of Cavalla's Contingent— Mahomed crosses to Egypt—His brave Conduct—He rises in the Service—Changes in the Government—Mahomed's Intrigues for Power—Elected Viceroy..... 40

CHAPTER IV.

Kourchid Pacha—His Services against Ali Pacha of Jannina—His Miserable Death—The Mamlukes—Their Opposition to Mahomed Ali—Their Defeat—Elfy Bey—Arrival at Alexandria of the Capitan Pacha—Proceedings of Mahomed Ali—Death of Elfy Bey and of Osman Bey Bardissy—Hostilities between Great Britain and the Porte—Colonel Sebastiani—Admiral Duckworth's Expedition—Defeat of the English..... 57

CHAPTER V.

Departure of the English from Egypt—Misery of the Inhabitants of Egypt—Mahomed Ali's Exactions—Exasperation of the Sheiks —The Sultan sends Presents to the Viceroy of Egypt—Toussoun appointed Pacha of Two Tails—Destruction of the Mamlukes— Dreadful State of Cairo—Mahomed Ali's Remark on the Massacre of the Mamlukes..... 77

CHAPTER VI.

Toussoun's Campaign against the Wahabees—The State of Arabia —Rise of the Wahab Sectarians—Abdul Wahab—His Education —Principles of Wahab Faith—Eben Sehood of Derayeh—His Successes in War—Death of Abdul Wahab—The Sheik Abdelazeez—Destruction of Kebelah and of the Tomb of Hussein— Death of Abdelazeez—Sehood, his Son and Successor—The Sultan determines on Hostilities against the Wahabees..... 86

Page

CHAPTER VII.

Ghaleb, Scheriff of Mecca—Toussoun, Pacha in Arabia—His first Successes—Medina re-captured, and the Keys of the City sent to the Divan at Constantinople—The Porte's Gratitude—Successes against Sehood—Mahomed Ali in Arabia—His Conduct towards Ghaleb—The Sheik banished to Salonica—His Death—The Death of Sehood—Abdallah, his eldest Son and Successor—Mahomed's return to Egypt—Toussoun follows—Ibrahim Pacha in Arabia—Final Subjugation of the Wahabees—Death of Abdallah..... 99

CHAPTER VIII.

Ismael Pacha appointed General of the Army of Nubia and Sennaar—Death of Toussoun Pacha—Ismael's Army—Dongola—The Sheygya—Berber—Shendy—Nimir Malek—The White River—Dissensions in Sennaar—Submission of King Mahomed—Rebels impaled—Turks excite the Disgust of the People of Sennaar—The Cruelty of the Turks to the Negroes of the White River—Sennaar ruined—Negro Population driven to Syene—Epidemic in the Turkish Army—Ismael's Fears—Joined by Ibrahim Pacha—Their Progress—Fazoglh—Cruel Death of Ismael—Reflections..... 109

CHAPTER IX.

Leaving Cairo for Upper Egypt—Saccara—Arab Christening—Minieh—Siout—Account of the Discovery of Ezra's Hebrew Manuscript, by Mr. S.—Cotton Manufactory at Siout—Effect of the Climate on Machinery—Excavations near Siout—Cemetery—Sale of a Young Slave—El Arabat—Ruins—Gournah..... 124

CHAPTER X.

Temple of Luxor—The Colossi—Tombs—Cure for the Bite of a Serpent—Assuan—The Use of Iron known to the Antient Egyptians—The Nilometer—Festival of Rhamadan—Philae—Temple—Boys crossing the River—Ruins and Views of Philae—Cataracts of the Nile..... 142

Page

CHAPTER XI.

Koum Ombos—Ruins—Gebel el Silcily—Edfou—Tombs at El Hegges—Esneh—Thebes—Memnonium—Carnac—Ghenny—Dendera—Siout—Til El—Armarna—Excavations—Eraramoum Sugar Manufactory—Sheik-a-badi—Return to Cairo 163

CHAPTER XII.

Concert at Cairo—Departure for Mount Sinai—The Springs of Moses—Wady-Feran—Arab Welcome—Quarrel between Two Arabs—The Convent—Chapel of St. Helena—Plain below Horeb—Inscriptions near Sarabeit-el-Khaddam—Hot Winds.... 185

CHAPTER XIII.

Soil of Egypt—The Delta—Breadth of the Valley of the Nile—Mahomed Ali's Principal Ministers—Egyptian Architecture—Recollections and Anecdotes..... 204

RECOLLECTIONS..... 212

NOTES ON SICILY AND MALTA..... 223

APPENDIX,

Containing an Account of the last Illness of the Emperor Alexander, and a full Statement of the Russian Conspiracy in 1825.. 333

TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE CRIMEA, TURKEY, AND EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

Alexandria — Pompey's Pillar — Cleopatra's Needle—Visit to the Pacha Mohamed Ali—New Seraglio—the Catacombs—Destructive Indolence of the Turks—Social Life among the Franks at Alexandria—Departure for Cairo—Fouah—Interview with the Governor—His Fondness for Raki—His Cunning—Banks of the Nile—First Sight of the Pyramids—Boulak—Cairo—Mr. Salt—Mr. B.—Costumes at Cairo—Site of Heliopolis—Bazaar—Visit to the Pyramids — Return to Cairo—Tombs at old Cairo—that of the Grand-daughter of the Prophet—Tombs of the Mamelukes—the Maturia.

On the 19th we went ashore to deliver our letters of introduction. Having settled at the inn, and engaged a servant, our first object was to visit the far-famed column, commonly known as Pompey's Pillar, standing about two miles from

the sea shore, on a slight eminence, composed of the remains of the former city, to which, at one time, it had served as an ornament; but it is now a sepulchral monument, pointing out the site of the ancient town, which lies buried in ruins at its feet. We had understood, before going there, that the date of its erection might be fixed from an inscription discoverable on the pedestal. On approaching this, the first thing we remarked was—"H. M. S. Glasgow, March, 1827," in large black letters, surmounted by the classic name, Henry Cram, of the equally classic town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Of less daring or less ambitious Dogberries, who had also written themselves down—beneath, there were Johnsons, Thomsons, and many of that eternal name, Smith—

> "A name so spread o'er Sir and Madam,
> That one would think the first who bore it, Adam."

So that, what with black paint and red ochre, pitch and sand, the pedestal and the lower part of the shaft may now rival the party-coloured mantle of Jacob's favourite son. It was in vain to look for any of Dioclesian's inscriptions, since the scribbling of those who had ascended to the top had obliterated all other traces. It appears that, in March, 1827, the officers of the Glasgow, by means of flying a kite, had passed a string over the top of the column—to this was fastened a cord, and eventually a rope-ladder was affixed.

Their example has been followed by the crew of almost every man-of-war which has been stationed in the port. The Turkish flag having been left, by a party visiting, at the top of the column, caused offence to the governor; and it is said that nothing of the kind is now allowed. Breakfasts have been given, and letters written from the top, and even a lady has been known to ascend. It is evident, on inspection, that the shaft does not correspond with the capital, base, and pedestal, which, to say the most of them, are poor, both in execution and taste. The feeble prop-work put up by the Turks is fast mouldering away, and should not a more substantial support be furnished, the column, ere long, will add to the heaps of ruins already scattered around it.

About a mile farther to the N. E., in a solitary, dull, square, and unpicturesque corner, stands the obelisk, called Cleopatra's Needle. It is a fine piece of granite, covered with hieroglyphics. No one having ascended it, it is undisfigured with writing. Having dined with Mr. S. the Dutch consul, we proceeded to the palace, where we found that the Pacha had not yet risen from the siesta. We were introduced into a large plain room; and, after waiting for about ten or fifteen minutes, we crossed the hall, and were introduced into the audience chamber. The room was surrounded by a divan, at the farther end of which he was seated in the corner. Mr. B., the

dragoman, was standing before him. We were then introduced by the consul; and, taking our seats on the divan, coffee was served, and conversation began. Mohamed Ali, in personal appearance, has nothing very imposing. He is a little man; and his countenance would be dull and inexpressive, were it not for a keen and restless eye. His forehead is high, his nose rather short and broad, and his beard white. He is rather corpulent. On quitting him, we went to visit his seraglio, which was being erected on the point of land close to the port. Its walls, of wood and plaster, weighed down by a heavy tiled roof, and its marble floors, exposed to the united effects of the sea and the wind, denote any thing but durability: while the rich, though fantastic, decorations of the interior, render it worthy of notice as a curiosity, though not of imitation as a work of art. The artists employed are mostly Greeks, who have decked the interior with a mixture of Arabesque and Chinese views, in which proportion and perspective are woefully disregarded. Not a single human figure is introduced in any part. It appears that the Turks do not object to draw any thing but a human being. We saw a drawing of the giraffe, on the divan in the Pacha's room. The day after, we visited the catacombs. The first few rooms are evidently Greek, and in very good style; the rest of the excavations are nearly filled up with rubbish: and, although we

crawled a considerable distance on our hands and knees, we discovered nothing else worthy of admiration. A short distance from the catacombs are two or three grottoes, partly formed by excavations, and partly by subterranean ruins. These have obtained the name of Cleopatra's Baths. They may possibly have been at some time used for this purpose; but it is very questionable whether they deserve their name. The suburbs of Alexandria, for miles, are covered with the ruins of the antient town. Heaps of brick and mortar, mixed with the broken shafts of columns and mutilated capitals, cover immense vaults, which serve as reservoirs to the town, and are replenished on every overflow of the Nile. Each inundation adds to the deposit left by the preceding one, and will eventually, if no steps are taken to remedy it, choke up and destroy the reservoirs—another example of that apathy and indolence, which so strongly mark the Turkish character. "Sufficient for to-day is the evil thereof," seems to be their motto; and they leave the future to Providence and the prophet.

Although treated with much hospitality by the gentlemen to whom our letters of introduction were addressed, and who, in their own houses, are most friendly, and seemingly, as far as we could observe, on good terms with the neighbouring Franks, still we did not enjoy that frequent and friendly intercourse, which so strongly characterizes the society of Smyrna. Whether this must

be attributed to the effect of conflicting interests, or to the check which all communication receives during the plague, we must leave to others to determine. Thus much, however, is certain, that, of all the towns in the Levant, Alexandria is the last, both from climate and company, which would tempt the traveller to a lengthened stay. Such was our impression, and it induced us, with all possible despatch, to prepare for our departure.

We made preparation for our journey, and, accompanied by our dragoman, we proceeded to the Mahmoudia, which is that part of Alexandria joining the port, by which it is separated from the canal. We here engaged our *cangia*, a kind of boat, with a small cabin, lofty enough to admit of any one sitting upright in it, on the divans placed on each side. Having embarked our luggage, we proceeded up the canal which connects the Nile with Alexandria. This canal was dug by the present Pacha, and we were credibly informed that upwards of three hundred thousand persons were hired in the villages, in the different parts of Egypt, and forced to work, and more than twenty thousand of them fell victims to the insalubrity of the climate, scarcity of food, and the want of proper shelter. We arrived the next day at the end of the canal, which is separated from the river by a dam, to prevent a reflux of its waters, as the river gradually decreases. This dam was not the only obstacle to our proceedings. On application

for a cangia, to the governor of the port, we were informed, that an order had been received from the Pacha to engage every boat for the conveyance of his suite, which was daily expected to leave Alexandria for Cairo. We had much difficulty in persuading him to allow us to take a boat from the place; but prevailed by giving a captain about fifty piastres more than the usual fare, half of which was to be paid down, that our reis might reimburse the governor for his condescension. We were delayed for about half a day by this circumstance, and it was nearly night before we got under weigh.

We proceeded a short way up the river, and, finding a contrary wind had sprung up against us, we were constrained to lay-to for the night, under the walls of Fouah. We had not been there twenty minutes, when a chaoush came down from the governor, to ask who and what we were? This inquiry was soon after followed by an invitation from that officer, to smoke and take coffee with him. We eagerly seized on this opportunity of witnessing Turkish life in Egypt, and accompanied the messenger. Achmet Cachef, into whose presence we were ushered, was a man about thirty-five, whose corpulent figure and flushed face bore evident marks of the *bon vivant*. He was surrounded by a group of Albanian soldiers, all of whom retired at a signal given by him, and we were left alone with him, his Copt Secretary, a

Greek, and two Mamlouks. This governor professed himself highly honoured by our visit, and, giving to one of our party his pipe to smoke, he ordered his Mamlouks to bring fresh ones, and coffee. After having repeated his expressions of satisfaction on seeing us, he inquired where we were going, and on our replying satisfactorily, he asked us to take further refreshment. One of our party replied, that after the excellent coffee we had tasted, nothing could be more acceptable than a glass of water. "Good," replied he, and winking to his Mamlouk, ordered some water. The man soon returned with a bottle of aquavitæ, or a strong spirit made from dates. "This," said he, "is the water of which you Franks are so fond." We declined taking any, but, after much solicitation, at length consented. Seeing our reluctance, he told us, that though the prophet had forbidden raki, he would take some, to convince us that he had no intention of poisoning us. After we had tasted, he replenished his own glass and drank it off. This he repeated no less than seventeen times in the course of the four hours we remained with him. He shortly after addressed one of us in the following terms: "Notwithstanding," said he, "that you pretend not to drink, yet I'd stake any money that your boat is well stored with all sorts of wine and liquors." Not seeing the drift of this observation, we acknowledged that we had some with us, and thought we could do no less

than make him an offer, which we did, desiring our dragoman to inquire, what kind he would have, brandy, gin, or rum? "Oh," replied he, quickly, "I like them all three." Whereupon, of course, we gave him a bottle of each, and a hearty laugh was raised at our expense. The spirits were shortly produced, and the corks drawn, and Achmet, having first insisted on our tasting, proceeded to help himself. Scarcely had he satisfied his curiosity, when, pleased with the success of his first trial, he made a second attempt. "As you are Englishmen," said he, "of course you are fond of shooting;" but this time his address was parried, our reply being that we were fond of shooting, but unfortunately had left Alexandria without providing ourselves with gunpowder. This turned the laugh against the governor, in which he good-humouredly joined, and calling for another glass of raki, pledged, and drank it, remarking, that if Mahomed should ask him why he drank, he would throw the whole blame upon us. Pleased with the acquisition of his three bottles, he invited us to remain to supper, which was served up about midnight. A large circular tin tray was brought in, round which we seated ourselves, and, having washed our hands, commenced the meal in the Turkish fashion. A spoon, but no knife or fork, was given to each guest, who helped himself to the soup, all eating out of the same tureen. This was followed by above twenty different dishes,

among which was a saddle of mutton, which we were invited to claw to pieces with the rest of the party—our host shewing his attention by tearing off every now and then a large piece of mutton in his fingers, and placing it before us. As soon as supper was over, ablutions were again performed, pipes, coffee, and spirits introduced, and we quitted the house of the governor about one in the morning, highly pleased with the novelty of our entertainment.

Fouah was a town of some consideration in the tenth century, but it gradually lost its commerce, which was removed to Rosetta. This latter place, in its turn, yielded to Alexandria; and the canal, which nearly connects Alexandria with Fouah, is likely to restore it to its original importance. In the morning, with a fair breeze, we continued our voyage to Cairo.

Nothing can be more unpicturesque than the banks of the Nile. The landscape, in fact, so far as the picturesque is concerned, might be taken by a parallel ruler. A horizontal line for the water, a horizontal line for the bank, and the line of the horizon itself—a few angular lines for the palm-trees,—will give an idea of the monotonous appearance of these banks. Were it not for the mud-built villages, from which the white-washed minarets of the mosque are seen, through a palm grove, which invariably overshadows these dwellings, and in some degree relieves the scene, the

country, setting aside its antiquities, would present a continued scene of dulness and monotony. The traveller's attention, however, is agreeably diverted by the novelty of the customs and appearance of the inhabitants. If an agriculturist, he is pleased with the fertile soil, and its varied productions; (although he may regret the low ebb to which the agricultural knowledge of the country is reduced: so true is it, that in all countries where the land is fruitful, the husbandman is indolent:) the ornithologist will find birds, known to him before only by books: the botanist a wide field for his researches, and the sportsman as much amusement as he can desire: the economist could not live in a country where provisions are cheaper: and those, who are fond of numerous retinues and splendid attire, may here find them at little cost.

A succession of small villages is seen at every fresh winding in the river. The Arab women, in their blue robes, fetching water from the Nile in urns, which they carried away upon their heads—and, as they wound up the bank, the graceful folding of their drapery, the uplifted arm supporting the vase, which strongly resembled that of the antique, —formed a most picturesque spectacle. The half-starved fellah, seated on his donkey, with his long nabout, or stick, and if very fortunate, with his pipe in his mouth, rode lazily along the course of the river. The creaking of the sakkeiahs, used for the irrigation of the land, were the only sounds

which we heard.—We made but slow progress, as the winds were contrary, and the crew threatened to abandon us, a dispute having arisen between them and their reis, or captain, in consequence of their unwillingness to tow the boat by a rope.

On the seventh day after our departure from Alexandria, after many attempts to gain a sight of the pyramids, on our arrival at the top of the Delta, these celebrated monuments of antiquity came in view. The sun was just setting behind the Lybian sands, and their western sides were barely distinguishable through the rising mists. Still, we had seen the pyramids—and we re-entered the cabin with that excitement of spirits always consequent on the obtainment of a long wished-for object. The wind favoured us during the night, and at ten on the following morning we arrived at Boulak. The edge of the river was lined with boats, taking in corn; camels were carrying off cotton; the banks were crowded with Nubians and Arabs, who were selling dates and sugar-canes.

One of the first objects which strike the stranger, on arriving at Boulak, is the palace of Ishmael Pacha—an odd composition of Greek, Italian, and Arabic architecture. Its large windows give it an open and airy appearance. The plaster, paint, and gilding, make the exterior a gaudy contrast to the surrounding filth and misery.

Our luggage was placed on the backs of camels, and we ourselves mounted the asses brought for

us by the Arabs and trotted off, followed by Arab boys, beating the donkies, and clearing the way before. Through the narrow lanes of Boulak, we at length came to the open fields, which divide this suburb from the city of Cairo. We entered Cairo by the part called the Esbe Keiah, and crossing it, reached the entry to the Frank quarter, and, passing a gateway, we went down a narrow lane, at the end of which stands the house of the English consulate.

Cairo, seen at a distance, is beautiful; but whatever may have been thought in its favour vanishes on entering it. In the East, show is everything—from the fretted ornamental minaret, down to the silk covered and tasselled pipes, which the syce, or groom, carries before his master.

The scenes which the traveller here meets, are powerfully opposed to the expectations of the admirer of eastern poetry. Half the inhabitants of the town are so filthy and ragged, that in England they would be sent to the tread-mill for indecent exposure. Their dirt is absolutely indescribable. Few of the streets are wider than 'Change-alley, and they are unpaved and winding. Carriages are never seen. With the thermometer at one hundred and ten, among crowds of Caireens squeezing and stewing in the avenues, where horses, camels, dromedaries, and donkies, and women muffled, and mounted on mules, blocked the place with clouds of small and almost imperceptible dust, which got

into our eyes, and the overpowering glare of the sun-light, we had a ceaseless change of temperature at the turn of every street, and the thoughts of the plague, which never leave the imagination of the European. Happy the man who escapes with only bugs and fleas! These are not the only insects which annoy the traveller; flies fill his plate at meals, and the mosquitoes destroy his rest at night.

It was after a rather squally day that we visited Boulak again. We reached the head of the Delta about sunset; and from the cabin top discovered the famous pyramids, the sun shining on their western sides. At ten P. M. we arrived at Boulak. Not to dismiss it too abruptly, we may add that the houses at Boulak are generally four, five, or six flats in height, the two first of hewn stone, and the doors ornamented. The minarets are partly Turkish and partly Arabian, with richly worked galleries.— On our return from Boulak, we traversed rich fields, with pyramids in the distance; then came the large triangular piazza, with a range of old houses on one side, and palaces on the other, among which is that of the Pacha. Dromedaries were trotting along the road, and many persons riding on asses; the women wearing black mantles, covering all but the face, which is concealed by a white veil.—We proceeded to the consul's house, having a letter for Mr. Maltass, who was in charge of the consulship. The house was empty, and the library gone. Mr. Salt, who

had recently died, was remarkable for his love of money, which he indulged so far as to become a trader in antiquities. Latterly he did not excavate, but purchased of excavators. He died worth from thirty-five to forty thousand pounds. His salary was fifteen hundred a-year, and the duties of the office very light. He was a man of great abilities, originally an artist, in which character he accompanied Lord Valencia.

We had a letter to Mr. Burton, who lived in the Turkish quarter of the town. We sent the letter up by a servant, who, seeing us in an European costume, refused to admit us. Mr. Burton was so unwell that he could not see us, but Mr. Humphries, who lives with him, received us, quite in the Turkish fashion. The room is furnished with divans, and projects into the street—the usual style in Turkey—so as to afford a view of the whole range of houses. Mr. Elphinstone had left Cairo two days before for Alexandria. Messrs. Parker and Sprott had just returned to Cairo from Jerusalem in six days and a half. They had left the plague at Ramleh and Gaza, where, out of two hundred families, twenty persons perished daily. In the evening we called, with Mr. Maltass, on Mr. Parker, who gave us an account of Jerusalem. The people there were in great alarm about the plague. He had performed no quarantine in passing into Egypt by Gaza, and hence he apprehended some danger of

the plague coming to Cairo, rumours of which were already abroad.

The houses at Cairo have windows, or shut balconies, projecting into the streets, which latter are often only five or six feet wide. The Frank quarter is not much crowded, but the other parts absolutely crammed. The customary riding is on asses. A servant goes by the side crying out incessantly "Reglak, chemalak," &c., that is, "Your right leg! your left leg! take care!" beating the other animals and clearing the way. The difficulty in passing through the narrow streets is, chiefly, when a camel comes laden with corn or fire-wood, filling the whole way. When two of these animals meet, the pushing, floundering, and disputing, are beyond description.

The dresses at Cairo, are not so various as at Constantinople. The Arab habit consists of a blue or white shirt, with red strap, or girth, wide sleeves, fastened up above the elbow by cords, which cross over the back; of a kind of under drawers which come down to the knees; and of a turban of four rolls of white muslin. The shoes are large and of red leather.

There are two head market days a week, Monday and Friday. We passed on a market day through a court, where numbers of negro women were exposed for sale, sitting in the sun, almost naked. They were black, thick lipped, with plaited or matted hair, and seemed quite in-

sensible to their condition. At the entrance of the Bazaar, there are chains placed across the street, to prevent asses from entering. The Bazaar itself is a perfect Babel, insufferably crowded. The salesman holds up the articles which he wishes to sell, as swords, pistols, pipes, cachmere shawls, jackets, trowsers, &c., and pushing his way through the crowd, bawls aloud the price at which he offers them. The merchants sit in the shops (which are a kind of stalls without windows) displaying their stock. Those who wish to purchase any thing, take a seat beside the merchant, which is the most convenient way of observing the noisy and conflicting tide perpetually moving on. The beggars are numerous, and very annoying. They seize hold of you, pull you, and stroke down your back with most abject importunity. Such revolting pictures of human misery are only to be met with in Egypt. Many are blind, and led about by others.

We met with two Englishmen in the Bazaar, Messrs. H. and L., who with Osman, the dragoman, were sitting in the shop of Hafiz. We did not observe them to be English, till we were informed so. They have been several years in Egypt. A Turkish dress, such as we bought at the Bazaar, costs, for jacket and trowsers, four hundred piastres.

In the course of the day, we called on Mr. Antonio Pini, an Italian, whose father was of very

considerable service to Bruce, giving him letters to the King of Abyssinia. This king had been at Cairo, and proceeded to Europe, carrying letters from Mr. Pini, and on his return, was disposed in every way to repay the service thus done him. By means of this connexion it was that Bruce was enabled to proceed.*

On Friday we visited Mr. B., and saw Messrs. B. and H. Mr. B. has a beard of great length, wears his feet bare, and is, to all appearance, a perfect Turk. We called also on Mr. Hay, who lived at the next house. Here every thing was in the same style, divans, coffee without sugar, pipes, &c. We spent the evening with Mr. Hay, and met seven Englishmen, all dressed in the Turkish fashion.

On Saturday, we went to the citadel, passing a fine gate to the left, with a minaret on each side, highly ornamented. We saw the divan of Joseph, which is a ruined mosque, having forty fine columns of red granite, about thirty feet in the shaft. The capitals are irregular. In the style of the building there is nothing ancient. The recess of the mosque remains, with a broad band of inscription going round the greater part of the interior. Higher up in the citadel is a well, called the Well of Joseph. Near the Divan of Joseph, a fine view may be had of all Cairo, which

* The Editor leaves this passage exactly as it is found in Mr. Webster's note book.

is a grey, flat-roofed, long, crowded town, immensely large, in which we counted one hundred and thirty minarets of mosques, many of them with three galleries. Beyond the town, with a few fields intervening, is the port of Boulak—the Nile, with the island of Rouda—the pyramids—the green plains of Egypt, studded with villages, and stretching between the desert, which touches Cairo on the one side, and has passed the pyramids on the other. Below, is the great mosque of Hassan, the gates of the town, and the many domes of the tombs of the Mamlukes. The chain of the Mokattam, which begins at Cairo, is not above four hundred feet high. Coloured sand forms the border of the desert, and this frequently oversteps the boundary line. The reflection of the sun's rays is offensive to the eyes.

We had proposed to return by Old Cairo, but were too late. At the corners of the streets, we found guards of soldiers stationed, as at Constantinople. No person is allowed to leave his house after sunset without a lamp.

In the streets of Cairo there are always asses ready saddled, which are let at three piastres a day, with a man who runs behind, or clears the road.

On Sunday, we went to the camp. The gate of Cairo, through which the caravan for Mecca passes, is fine, high, and adorned with two towers of hewn stone. We soon came to a camp of the Bedouins, where noisy dogs, naked, big bellied children,

tattered tents, sheep, goats, &c., were the most remarkable objects. A little farther on, in an orchard near Maturia, is an old sycamore, or wild fig tree, under which tradition says that the Virgin reposed after the flight into Egypt. There are a few names and crosses cut on it. It is an old root cut over, with new shoots springing from it. Near it, is a well of good water, said to have been sweetened through being used by the Virgin on the occasion alluded to. It is also said to be the best spring of fresh water in Egypt. A little way on, is the obelisk, which marks the position of the ancient Heliopolis. There were several, which are now at Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome. This which remains has only one line of hieroglyphics down each side. The obelisk is of red granite, in good preservation, and the whole of the shaft is visible. It stands in the middle of a rich field, surrounded by a line of sand hill, presenting the appearance of a lake dried up. A great space to the right is covered with rubbish, tiles, and bricks. The foundations of some buildings are partly traceable. This Heliopolis is said to be the city mentioned in Scripture.

We passed another encampment of Bedouins, and afterwards several villages. On the road we met troops, strings of camels, and from eighty to one hundred men chained, driven by soldiers. We arrived at the camp fifteen miles from Cairo. Within was a battalion, which was going off to

Alexandria. The tents were in lines, with a sentinel to each line. An Italian physician, whom we met, offered to go through with us. We approached the village, and saw the various buildings, houses of the officers, &c., but had not time to go to the hospital, which is said to be conducted on very excellent principles by Dr. Clott.

On Monday, the 18th, we went to the Bazaar to complete some purchases, and found reports of the plague gaining ground. Three or four, it was said, had died at Boulak, and it had spread to Cairo. There is a practice of great annoyance to the living, which is carried on, out of respect to the dead, at Cairo—that of howling. Every evening, at sunset, there is, throughout Cairo, a general cry of the priests from the mosques, sounding like a great tumult in the city: hundreds of voices are heard at once, calling the people to prayer.

On Tuesday, the 19th, we went to the pyramids. On our way we passed an aqueduct, leading from the river to the citadel—a fine work, equalling many of the works of the Romans. The Arabs, while rowing us across the river, sang alternately verses of songs, keeping time with the oars. The names Allah and Mohammed were in each verse.

The appearance of the pyramids is very deceptive. They first seemed close to some palms;

but when we had reached these, they appeared to stand under a village; and at the village we found that a distance must still be traversed. The Arabs left their work in the fields, as we went along, and came upon us from all points, anxious to be employed, and to gain a small sum of money. Two of them carried us over a swamp, or canal, immersed to the middle. We were soon joined by five or six more. As we passed the last village, a quarter of a mile from the base of the rocks, the children were let loose upon us, their mothers urging them on, and calling out for "Backshish." We at length entered the desert, and in a few moments stood before the Sphynx. The ridge of the back is seen rough and time-worn; the head dress is made to project behind so as to counterbalance the chin and face; in front, between the paws, a temple has been discovered, for a drawing of which, see No. 38 of the Quarterly Review. The sand has now covered up the temple, and in time the head only of the Sphynx will be visible, as before. Much has been done to prevent this by Mr. Caviglia, who erected a wall round his excavations; but the position of the Sphynx, considerably below the level of the pyramids themselves, heaped up a hundred feet by the sands, renders all attempts of this kind hopeless. No effort can save the excavation from being filled up by the sands. Passing to the right, we visited a small chamber,;

and, having gone past the smaller pyramids, we came to the great one, or Pyramid of Cheops. This is formed in layers, and thus presents steps to the summit. It was formerly covered, so as to be quite plain. As to the other great pyramid having been covered, there can be no question, for one hundred and twenty feet of the covering still remain, from near the summit downwards. The stones are ruinous and broken all over—a proof that the pyramid was cased, for had it not been so, the whole structure would have presented a finished appearance. The general breaking of the stones arises, most probably, from the carrying away of the casing. Sand has collected round the base. We mounted the pyramids by the north-east angle, and with some difficulty, from the height of the stones, each step being from two to three feet. When half way up, we were struck anew with the vastness of the structure. How immense the whole side appeared, as compared with the single stone on which we stood—and this latter, how immense as compared with the size and power of man!

Flocks of hawks and vultures were soaring round the pyramids. Half way up was the name of a traveller, marked 1628. A platform of about thirty-three feet square, at the top, is much worn away and destroyed. There are the names of innumerable travellers, many of which are English. The steepness of the sides of the pyramids

is greater than would be supposed, by a comparison of the base and the height.

Four or five rows of tombs are seen on the west side, each row having seven or eight tombs. The second pyramid is to the south-west of the first, and there is a smaller one to the south of the second. From the summit there is a view of Saccara. Five small pyramids appear on the edge of the desert to the eastward. The Nile is seen winding in the distance. To the right are three other pyramids, two very large. Beyond Saccara half of the horizon is embraced by the desert: brown, endless plains, in the line of the north-west, stretch where the desert ends. In that direction, along its edge, are great plantations of palms. The desert, in one part, has run far into the fields, or level plains, which are immense, and of wonderful fertility, being intersected by numerous canals. The plains are, generally, laid out in square and oblong fields, green, yellow, or brown, according to the state of tillage. Scattered over them are some twenty villages, each having its ornament of palm-trees, and each environed by the drifted sands. Far beyond is the Nile, and Cairo, with its hundred minarets, and its citadel on the heights of the Mokattam, which rises in precipices behind.

The sands have made irresistible progress in the course of ages. The pyramids were, no doubt, on the bare rock: the body of the Sphynx must have

also been uncovered. Now, not only are these encumbered, but the rocks, and all along the edges of the fields below them, are covered with the sands—the tide of an ocean that shall never know reflux!

Egypt, the parent of art and science, is viewed by the modern traveller with a feeling somewhat similar to that with which the Egyptian looks on the Nile. Its waters fertilize his fields, but its source is to him unknown. His ignorance magnifies the power which he cannot comprehend, and his gratitude is mixed up with awe, and, perhaps, with terror. From the summit of the pyramids man, from the noblest monument of man, views the grandest works of nature. Was it vanity that erected the pyramids, or the wish of some pious monarch to teach mankind humility? If the former, the ruler may have said, "I will exhibit the strongest energies of man—countless numbers shall assemble, and shall toil together for the period of a generation, to rear on the borders of this desert an eternal edifice, vast beyond the powers of thought." How little, in the boastful pride of his gigantic enterprize, could such a king have dreamt that the barren desert would one day drift its sandy waves to overwhelm the mightiest monument of his mortal toil!

Throughout the world there is a continual conflict between good and evil, and the creeds of various countries have personified these two principles, and represented them as labouring, each for

its own extension. This war is like the struggle of the Nile and the desert, for the possession of Egypt:—the latter is the genius of evil, insidiously spreading his pollution; while the former, rising at times in anger, rescues and restores the devoted country. It would, however, augur ill for human destiny to pursue this similitude farther; for the desert is victorious, and in the course of ages, there may perhaps remain nor city, nor village, nor verdant field, to recall the thought of what has been in this immemorial country.

We entered the pyramid on the north side. This entrance, over which there are immense stones, is a square passage from three to four feet each way, descending, and cased with granite finely polished. Our Arabs led the way to a forced passage on the right, by which we entered into an ascending passage similar to the former, communicating with it, and leading to the level of the well of the pyramid. There is a large high passage continuing to ascend in the same line, and ending in the sepulchral chamber, which is in the centre of the pyramid. This still contains a sarcophagus without hieroglyphics. We descended to the level of the well, where there is a horizontal passage, leading to a chamber below the former. In it is a niche, where it is said that a mummy formerly stood. We went to one of the tombs on the right, or west side, where were two chambers containing figures, hieroglyphics.

phics, figures of oxen, men, &c., in relief, very finely executed. In the second pyramid, which was opened by Belzoni, we found the passage closed, towards the bottom, by the drifted sand. This passage was perfectly similar to the other. Immense labour has been fruitlessly employed to open the small, or third pyramid.

Returning to Cairo, we saw the Nilometer, called Mekias, a square, deep reservoir, faced with stone, and having inscriptions. In the centre is placed a column, with a graduated scale. We also saw the English pump on the opposite side, which had been made a present to the Pacha. It was just completed, and the working was to commence in a few days.

On Wednesday, the 20th, we went with Osman to Boulak, where we got a boat for five hundred piastres per month, men, and *reis*, or captain, included. A funeral passed us in the street, the mourners in front singing, and women veiled following the body, and uttering loud lamentations. At the gateway stood a man distributing water. He gave to all who passed, at the same time addressing some words to each.

On Thursday we saw the Greek slave mart.* It is a regular traffic. They generally bring from five to twenty purses,* according to the supposed value.

* A "purse" is about £7.

On Friday, the 22nd, we visited Old Cairo, and saw the tomb called El Chaliffé. People were asleep at the grating. On the left of the entrance is a mosque, and after going along a passage, you come to the tomb, which is in a chamber, also to the left.

Further on, near the gate, we saw another tomb, that of a grand-daughter of the prophet. We first passed into a mosque, in which were a number of columns of various marbles, and irregular capitals. Here several people were at prayer. Near the upper end of the mosque, we came to a large door on the right, at which several people were asleep. This door was locked, and, on being opened, admitted us to a flight of several steps, leading to a chamber, on crossing which we entered another smaller apartment, in which is the tomb. The servant, the keeper of the tomb, and another person who was with him, immediately began to mutter orisons, and seemed absorbed in devotion. The coffin is raised about four feet, and is covered with a rich cloth of silk; and over the head of it hangs a green veil, bespangled with silver stars. There is an enclosure of about a foot distance round it, the wood gratings of which are all over inlaid with mother of pearl. The four corners are surmounted with globes of silver, and the door is fastened by a large lock of the same metal. In visiting this tomb we passed as strangers, who might be natives of Constantinople, or some other distant place.

We next proceeded to the mosque of Amerou, a strong wind and drifting of sand blowing against us the whole way. This mosque is quite a forest of columns, and in the central part of the upper end, is a balcony, lighted by several lamps. In the left hand corner stands a tomb, and in the centre a small building, surrounded by a colonnade. As a whole, this mosque is the finest that we saw at Cairo. We kept on through ruins in all directions, foundations, bricks, &c. till we came to Old Cairo. Here, in a church, we saw a place called "the Grotto of the Virgin," where, according to tradition, she remained some time while in Egypt. It is nothing else than the crypt of the church. There is an old picture representing the flight, and, on the left, a little recess, where the child is said to have been placed, &c. This grotto, or crypt, was held in great veneration.

On Saturday, the 23d, we visited the tombs of the Mamelukes. The domes are numerous, twelve or fifteen being seen at once. At a distance of half a mile in the desert, is another square, with dome, painted roof, &c., and ruinous, as all of them are.

We went on to the Maturia, a place famous for the residence of public women—a sort of vice-encampment, sanctioned by the authorities. Many came out dressed, with their hair plaited down the back with cords, continuing to the heels, and wearing silver pendants and large rings in their

noses. We entered, and saw two of them dance, which was an odd exhibition. They make use of small cymbals, placed on the finger of each hand. These they use with much elegance. Though this class of women has been represented as very numerous, we saw but few, and we looked into every tent as we passed along the central street. Nothing is more exaggerated than vice. Cities are slandered wantonly, and the personal experience of certain travellers is extended to the moral character of a whole people.

CHAPTER II.

Mahomed Ali, Pacha of Egypt—Murad and Ibrahim, the ruling Beys of the Mamlukes—Murad and Murat—the Character of the two Beys—Battle of the Pyramids—Osman Tambourgi, Murad's successor—Ibrahim, Shiek El Belled—Sir David Baird—Massacre of the Mamlukes—Mahomed Kosrouf—the Defeat of Youssuf Bey and Mahomed Ali—Reflections.

MAHOMED ALI is, without doubt, one of the most hardy and enterprizing characters of modern history. Whether we regard his origin, rise, or present condition, there is an equally ample space for the indulgence of our "wondering faculty." Born amidst barbarians, he has acquired the graces and the conduct of civilized life; suckled in prejudice, deep, deadly, and hereditary, he has opened his heart to the acquisition of knowledge, and banished all those animosities, derived from peculiarity of race and blood, in order to facilitate the amelioration of his country and of his people. By parentage an abject slave, he became the dele-

gate of Ottoman sway over one of the most fertile and the most celebrated countries of the world; chosen a delegate of power, he possessed the courage and the prudence to cast off the yoke of the imperious Porte, and to rule with self-created and unborrowed light, where he was expected to glimmer and waste his energies as a feeble satellite. For the land of the Pharaohs he is the "Divus orte bonis, optime Romule," and his name will, without doubt, be recollected in oriental annals, as that of a man who left the impress of his character on the age in which he had his being.

To give, however, any thing like a satisfactory account of the present sovereign, or, nominally, Viceroy of Egypt, it will be necessary to take a slight retrospective glance at the transactions there, previously to his arrival in that country.

It is well known, that Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, were the two principal chiefs who influenced the Mamluke eicositetararchy, or government of four and twenty chieftains. The former was impetuous, bold, and as gallant a soldier as the noble order which he commanded had ever boasted. He was as remarkable among his people, as Murat was amongst the French; and their persons, carriage, and impetuosity were, by the invaders, brought into a closer parallel, owing to the similarity of their names; and Murad and Murat were honoured with the distinction of "*les deux beaux sabreurs.*"

Murad was of a warlike, and Ibrahim of a peaceable disposition. When the French invaded Egypt, the latter passed into Syria, and the former having nobly led on the Mamluke cavalry, against the republican forces, at the battle of the Pyramids, was vanquished, and obliged to retreat into the Sayd. He, however, afterwards made his peace with his conquerors, and being rewarded with the two provinces of Djerge and Esne, appears, on the whole, to have been much attached to the General Kleber's administration. When the forces of France under Menou had met with the reverses of 1801, Murad was invited, by General Belliard, to Cairo, where he caught the plague, and after a few days illness, fell a victim to its virulence.

Shortly after, the French were compelled to evacuate Egypt, which passed into the power of the English. These occupied Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damanhour, while the seapoys of Sir David Baird were stationed at Gizeh. The beys were collected at Cairo, under Osman Tambourji, Murad's successor, while Ibrahim had been re-instated in his office of Sheik-il-belled, or Governor. The Grand Vizier, and the Capitan Pacha too, were in the country, having co-operated with the English for the expulsion of the republican army. In this purpose, indeed, both were agreed, though their ulterior views were very different. The Porte sought to curb the licentiousness of the Mamlukes, the English general to conciliate

their favourable disposition, whereby we might retain an effective hold on the country. According to his design, the Capitan Pacha invited the leader of the beys, with his principal officers, to the camp at Aboukir. These soldiers, dreading no treachery, repaired into the Admiral's presence, and were received with every demonstration of esteem. Pleasure and amusements were lavished on them, but unaccompanied by any expression of the host's object. The restless soldiers began to grow impatient, complained to General Hutchinson, and threatened to leave the camp. That officer, however, assured them of the Capitan Pacha's friendly intentions, and of their own safety. But the unsuspicious Englishman was himself deceived. When General Hutchinson was about to yield his command to Lord Cavan, and quit the country, the beys were invited by Hassan, the Capitan, to a sumptuous entertainment, and at his importunate request they afterwards embarked on board some pleasure boats. When they had proceeded a little to sea, they were followed by a fast running skiff, observing which, the Admiral declared his purpose to speak with the persons in it, apprehending that it might be the bearer of despatches, just arrived from Constantinople. The skiff came alongside, and what appeared to be ample despatches were handed to the Turk, who, on the pretence of reading them more at his leisure, stepped into the skiff, and it fell back to a considerable

distance behind the festive guests. The Mamlukes proceeded on their course, but no sooner had they entered Aboukir-lake, than they saw, a-head, some large vessels filled with soldiers, and ready for action. Their anticipations were short, and their worst fears realised; for discharges of musketry and artillery hurled destruction on the greater part of the Mamlukes. The survivors were taken prisoners, and forced to swear on the Koran, that they would not reclaim the protection of the English. But these were indignant at the abominable instance of Mussleman treachery: the prisoners were liberated, and the bodies of the butchered chiefs buried with all the honours of war.

When Hassan, the Capitan, departed, Mahomed Kusrouf was established Pacha of Cairo. By birth a Georgian, by fortune the Admiral's slave, and by caprice his favourite, this man had been appointed to his dignity against the representations of the Grand Vizier, who had his own creature to serve and elevate. Like the generality of the minions of fortune, Kusrouf was weak, incapacitated for command, intolerant, and a tyrant. But he was the fittest tool for the effectuation of his master's intentions,—the eradicating the pestilent Mamlukes. Osman Bey Hassan, one of their number, and in disposition similar to Ibrahim, was invited to Cairo, where he fixed his residence.

The other leaders were ordered to follow his example; and on their peremptory refusal, Taher Pacha was directed against them. But the Mamlukes descended from the Sayd, into Lower Egypt, leaving with their footsteps the fatal traces of that ruin and havoc which have ever been characteristic of eastern warfare. In this juncture *Mahomed Ali* was appointed General, and despatched against them, accompanied by Osman Bey Hassan. They treated with the refractory beys, and offered them all the land lying from Esne, to the confines of Upper Egypt. But the leaders required also the cession of Djerge. This, however, the Viceroy was little disposed to accord, and consequently fresh troops were ordered to the service, under Youssef Bey, his Kiaya, while Taher Pacha added his troops, by way of reinforcement. Hassan, however, being loath to fight against the order of which he boasted himself a member, retired into the desert.

Affairs were thus circumstanced when Colonel Sebastiani arrived in the country, for the purpose of seeing the stipulation in the treaty of Amiens, with respect to the evacuation of Alexandria by the English, carried into effect. This officer had received instructions to communicate with the beys, and encourage them in their hostile operations against the Porte, and, consequently, against the English. He endeavoured to effect this latter purpose,

though without success. The Viceroy's troops under Youssef Bey, marched to Damanhour, against Osman Bey, and a body of eight hundred Mamlukes. The Turkish army, altogether, counted upwards of seven thousand men. It was miserably defeated, and more than five thousand were killed and taken prisoners, whilst its adversary sustained the unimportant loss of only sixty men. Notwithstanding this success, the Mamlukes cast away the entire profits of their victory. Youssef, the Turkish leader, escaped unhurt, and accused Mahomed Ali of defalcation in his duty. The intention to harm this officer was unsuccessful.

The English, meanwhile, delivered up the forts and towns which they had been retaining, and embarked for home, bringing with them one of the beys, Mahomed Elfy, by name.

The history of Mahomed Ali, the most extraordinary political character which the east has in modern times produced, is, perhaps, wholly unknown in England; and before entering into the statistics of his Pachalic, it will, perhaps, be doing our countrymen an important service, if the principal points in his history are stated. Even in France he is little known, though an academy is there established, with the consent of the government, for the education of young Egyptians of the most considerable families, and destined to fill the most important offices of state. In Italy, and Sicily, and Malta, he is wholly un-

known. In Germany, Dr. Ehrenberg* may make mention of a name, which, in reality, deserves an European celebrity. Alas! that ambition should work to so little purpose, in its eagerness to gratify the cravings of earthly fame! What a narrow circle circumscribes the name of this Pacha of Egypt! Yet in the regeneration of his countrymen, a monument will be raised to his everlasting memory. In every despotic country the way to amelioration is through tyranny, a tyranny that shall curb the hot steed of subordinate licentiousness, as in the body corporate of man, when suffering from a mortifying member, a cruel amputation alone will impede the progress of fast spreading disease. Desperate disorders require desperate remedies. Mahomed is a despot it is true, but a despot of the right nature and quality, for the impetuous children of the sun, in this land. To practice here the equanimity and the justice of a good king Alfred, would be like sowing precious seed upon a rocky soil: the toil would be unproductive of any benefit. To lord it over a herd of beasts, you must have a beast, a lion if you will: such a leader may have the generosity of that royal brute, but he must also be gifted with its fangs, to tear and

* Mr. Webster evidently, here, labours under a mistake. Messrs. Calliaud, Mengin, Pacho, &c. &c. have given some information respecting this celebrated personage, though their accounts are partial. See, for an account of Dr. Ehrenburg's Book, No. IV. of the Foreign Review, published by Black, Young and Young. In that article, the first mention is made of the death of Mr. Webster.—Ed.

lacerate an offending victim. Such is the Pacha, and he is the very best ruler for his countrymen. He was born under a fortunate star, and may say with Schiller's Duke of Friedland,

> " Who now persists in calling fortune false?
> To me she has proved faithful; with fond love
> Took me from out the common ranks of men,
> And like a mother goddess, with strong arm
> Carried me swiftly up the steps of life.
> Nothing is common in my destiny,
> Nor in the furrows of my hand!"
>
> *The Death of Wallenstein.*

CHAPTER III.

Birth of Mahomed Ali—Dreams of his Mother previously to his Birth —Taken under the Protection of the Governor of Cavalla—Mahomed wins his Patron's Favour by his Boldness—Marries—His Children—French Expedition to Egypt—The Sublime Porte's Determination—The Governor of Cavalla's Contingent—Mahomed crosses to Egypt—His brave Conduct—He rises in the Service—Changes in the Government—Mahomed's Intrigues for Power—Elected Viceroy.

MAHOMED ALI was born at Cavalla, in Roumelia, in the year 1769 (Hegira, 1182.) His father commanded the body of guards destined to protect the safety of the public roads. He was yet of a tender age, when his father died; but the situation of the latter was one of some consideration, and brought him in contact with the governor of the town, who, out of friendship to the family, charged himself with the boy's maintenance. It is reported that his mother, during the period of gestation, failed not to dream her dreams, and see her visions. To have them duly expounded, the sooth-

sayers and dervises were consulted, who unravelled the mysterious clew to the anxious parent, by an assurance that the child in her womb should achieve greatness. What these divine manifestations were, we have never been able to learn rightly:—however, at an early period, she communicated them to her child, and he treasured the communication in his heart, with a conviction that he should one day clutch a sceptre, and feel his brow enwreathed with the circle of royalty. Accident not unfrequently induces greatness, by suggesting a secret purpose; which, in a bosom, where dwells an active and quick spirit, burns with the intensity of heated iron, maddens the brain, and propels to action. These instruments are the daring spirits of the world, who set their whole venture on a single cast—attain unheard of successes in a moment—or fail, are lost, and are forgotten for ever. If total and blank oblivion, however, be their lot, in the latter case, in the former, their meed is everlasting renown. Mahomed Ali seems to have been so attempered, and also to have been one of the fortunate children of success. His purpose was suggested by his mother's prompting, and he ever after kept his eye upon it, as upon the golden cynosure of his destiny. He remained close under his patron's wing, and had a few opportunities of shewing what stuff he was made of. He was vigilant—active—enterprizing—intrepid—dauntless—and of these qualities gave ample assu-

rances to his patron, for he occasionally spilled a little blood, and sacrificed a few lives; but all this, in the country he inhabited, was set down to him as virtue. The greatest trust which a subordinate governor can confer, is the collection of taxes; for these are wrenched from the hungry gripe of an impoverished peasantry, and must be got in for the due support of his own vicarious dignity. Mahomed Ali proved himself a faithful, and a bold instrument—all discontent and grumbling were hushed, whenever he, with his merry men, came into view. On one occasion, the inhabitants of a village forgot themselves, and that occasion was a lucky chance for our friend and hero. The caitiffs not only grumbled, but resisted, threatened, and rose in rebellion. The Tchorbagi, or governor, was frightened, and Mahomed offered his services, and promised to compel their return to due discipline. He kept that promise. With a few men, hastily equipped, he reached the refractory village; and entering the mosque, and feigning to them a secret mission, he sent for the four principal inhabitants. They came, like silly sheep to the wolf, and the wolf seized and made them an easy prey. Mahomed bound them neck and heels, and was off with them to Cavalla, regardless of the pursuing multitude, whom he overawed, by threatening an instant death to his captives. The governor admired his agent's hardihood, and, in recompence, bestowed on him the rank of *Boulouk bashi*, and a

rich widow, who was related to himself. She is the happy mother of Ibrahim, the scourge of Greece, and of the two other sons, since dead—Toussoun and Ismael—of whom we shall, very shortly, have occasion to make mention. The widow had money, as has been already said, and Mahomed was desirous of increasing the fund—for he was aware of the truth of the universal aphorism—"wealth is power." He accordingly turned his attention to business, and he became, in time, so skilful in mercantile transactions, that a considerable addition was made to his fortune. In these, he was advised by an old Frenchman, long settled at Cavalla, as a merchant, by name M. Lion. This gentleman entertained a great affection for the young trafficking soldier; and the latter, it is said, in this instance carried gratitude in his heart, for, many years aftewards, he transmitted a considerable sum of money to the impoverished and suffering family of his friend, in France. Gratitude, in the East, it has been often remarked, is a plant of rare growth: We have great pleasure in giving currency to this fair instance, although we cannot, by any means, take on ourselves to vouch for its correctness. The source of Mohamed's increased fortune was the tobacco trade, the most lucrative product of his native province. But, let it not be supposed that he had turned his sword into a reaping hook, or hung it up in his hall to grow rusty from disuse. He often laid

aside his ledger, and books of account, and took to his yatagan, his sabre, and his pistols, and he always drew upon his actions the favourable regards of his superior.

The political circumstances of this period, soon offered him a wider and more elevated sphere for action. The French had landed in Egypt, under Buonaparte, and an expedition, to oppose them, was speedily fitted out by the Porte. The Governor of Cavalla's contingent, amounting to three hundred men, were to embark on board the Turkish fleet, in the Bay of Marmorice: of this body of troops, the Tchorbagi's son, Ali, had the chief command—the second was Mahomed. The young captain was averse to encounter the dangers of the sea and the hazards of war; and thinking that the search after the "bubble reputation," was only fit for necessitous and desperate fools, he returned to his warm quarters at Cavalla: so behold our friend and hero, Mahomed, a real and truly commissioned leader in battle. He now took the title of *Bin-bashy*.

After the business of Aboukir, the Capitan Pacha commenced to act in the offensive, and had an engagement with a division under General Lagrange, at *Rhamanyeh*. Mahomed behaved as became a true soldier—lost many of his men—but was noticed by his commander-in-chief. By him he was chosen to attack the fort. He posted himself, accordingly, under the walls, awaiting the

dawn with impatience, that he might push his operations. But, during the darkness, the French had evacuated, and Mahomed's was a bloodless triumph. This last proceeding increased towards him the favourable consideration of the Capitan Pacha:—and he had also gained the good graces of one Hassan Aga, afterwards commander of the Janissary corps at Cairo. Through his instrumentality, he was recommended by the Admiral to Mahomed Kusrouf, who, after the massacre of the Mamlukes, which has been already described, raised him to the quality of *Sare-chisme;* and, appointing him to the head of a division, sent him on that expedition with Youssef Bey, which ended in their complete overthrow by the Mamlukes.

We have already mentioned the circumstance of Youssef Bey having accused Mahomed of misconduct, in consequence of which, his forces had suffered such an infamous defeat. Whether there were any grounds for the accusation, it is difficult to say, for the secret motive, if it be true, is hidden, and will continue so, in the breast of the Viceroy. Suffice it to say, that Kusrouf Pacha believed Youssef's tale, and was desirous of driving the young Cavalliot from the country. But he had to deal with a man of tough metal, and possessing unlimited resources within himself. The pay of the troops was considerably in arrear, and this Mahomed demanded resolutely. The governor sent him word to appear before him in the night,

but the wily Albanian leader replied, that he would show himself by broad day light, in the midst of his soldiers. They then wished to make away with his person, but were at a loss for the fitting opportunity; of their intentions the Cavalliot was duly and fully apprized.

Taher Pacha, with his Albanians, was admitted into Cairo, by Kusrouf Pacha, as a safeguard against the retaliating machinations of Mahomed Ali. The mountaineers became clamorous for their pay. The Viceroy bade them go to his Defterdar, and this officer, who had nothing wherewith to satisfy them, directed them to the Cavalliot. He, in his turn, only assured them of his complete poverty. Taher Pacha, the leader of this particular body of Albanians, had planned his own selfish purposes, and fanned the flame of discontent amongst the soldiery. They became still more noisy —disorganized—insolent—rebellious; attacked and seized on the Viceroy's palace, and summoned and took possession of the citadel. Kusrouf fled with his wife and household to Mansourah, and Taher Pacha assumed, as he had all the while designed, the supreme dignity. He conciliated the Mamlukes, ingratiated himself with the Franks, and proclaimed himself only as temporary Viceroy, until the pleasure of the Porte should be made known. But he soon forgot all measures of moderation. He wanted money, and the people were taxed with extreme severity:

stripes, and imprisonment, and torture, were his mild ministers of compulsion; and exasperation and despair being widely spread amongst the populace, his fate was sealed by the yatagans of two Turkish *Byn-bashis*, who, severing his head from the trunk, threw it into the streets from the palace window. Such was the end of this despicable and cruel tyrant, after a reign of twenty-two days. Immediately on his death a bloody fray was excited between the Turkish soldiers, and Taher's Albanian guard, and the streets of the city were submerged in human gore.

To him succeeded one Ahmed Pacha, whom the troops elected for the nonce. He, however, was soon fain to retire, and the country was ruled by the Mamluke forces, under Ibrahim Bey, and Osman Bey Bardissy, and Mahomed Ali. But his Sublimity the Porte was seized with alarm, lest the Mamlukes should gain a thorough independence in Egypt, and Ali Gezairly was elevated to the three-tail Viceroyalty, and despatched with all speed into Egypt. In July of 1803, he landed on the shores of the Pharaohs, but he was too insignificant an instrument to fulfil the intentions of his master. He shut himself up at Alexandria, tyrannising over the people, exacting taxes to fill his empty coffers, wantonly insulting all the European consuls, until taken prisoner by Bardissy, who, under pretence of banishing him to Syria, sent him away with an escort, which had secret orders

to slay him, and his whole suite. The emissaries were faithful to their bidding.

Bardissy with Mahomed Ali, and the Mamlukes, entered Cairo in triumph, the former taking the reins of administration. The wish of this commander was, to bring back the golden days of Mamluke superiority. The vacancies, therefore, in the body of the beys were replenished, and the order, generally, reinforced.

Elfy Bey at this period returned to Egypt, after a sufficiently long sojourn in England, where he had been treated with every mark of attention. It was sound policy which dictated this behaviour amongst our countrymen, for Elfy was one of the most influential amongst the beys, and could most materially be subservient to the cause of the English, whose policy most certainly was to keep Egypt free from the occupation of the French. Bardissy was Elfy's great opponent. He dreaded a rival, or partner in power, over that body whose leader he was, virtually; and added to his jealousy, was deep inveterate hatred on his part towards the house of Elfy. Accordingly, these two Mamluke chiefs began mutually to commence hostilities, and this was a golden opportunity for Mahomed. He was, in truth, like the wary fox in the fable, watching to steal away the bleeding carcase from the nobler beasts that fought till they were exhausted. By secret contrivances Mahomed gained the favour of the populace of Cairo, and for a while continued

to preserve the same friendly bearing towards Bardissy. Suddenly, however, he attacked him in his palace, and would have slaughtered the chief, and all his people, had he not very fortunately, and in a soldierlike manner, dashed, sabre in hand, through the Albanian ranks, followed by his retinue of soldiers and servants, and dromedaries, laden with his most valuable effects. The fugitive Bey bent his course to the Baçatyn, while Mahomed urged the exasperation of his soldiers, consequent on their not receiving their large arrears of pay, as the plea for the attack. Like our own king-making Warwick, Mahomed seemed to make and unmake Pachas at his pleasure.

Towards midnight, Mahomed sent to the Cadi a firman, appointing Kourchid Pacha to the government of Egypt. But, in consequence of the tumults between the Albanians and the Mamlukes, the storming of houses, and strong places of Bardissy by the former, and the flight of the latter, to regain the standard of their chief, Kourchid's authority was a mere cypher; Mahomed, seeing this, disregarded his own nomination. It so happened that, for greater security, Kusrouf Pacha had been taken to the Mamluke capital, and the Albanian chief invited him to assume the supreme command. This was cunningly contrived by Mahomed; for as Kusrouf was certainly the legalised viceroy of the province, it behoved our hero to get rid of him, and no method was so sure of success as his

elevation to that conspicuous office in which he would immediately become obnoxious to the malice and the machinations of his bitterest enemies. Kusrouf was simple enough to fall into the Cavalliot's snare. Very shortly after his elevation he was once more ejected, in consequence of Mahomed having excited the relatives of Taher Pacha to the deed. The road to real pre-eminence was now opened for the prime instrument, who immediately was invested with the office of Kaimacan, while messengers were despatched to Alexandria, to recall Kourchid to the viceroyalty. Meantime he, who held the vicariate, strengthened himself by again conciliating Bardissy and his Mamlukes.

Kourchid had a most difficult game to play, not only on account of the intricacy and entanglement of the chances themselves, but also of the experience, the activity, and the cunning of him whom a tissue of the luckiest contingencies had made his opponent. The Mamlukes from without were to be repulsed, and sedition from within was to be appeased, a favourable party was to be formed, and an empty exchequer was to be replenished for the payment of his own troops. For this purpose the annual tribute to government, called the miry, was to be anticipated for the year, and this angered, exceedingly, the Moultezims, or proprietors, and the Fellahs, or husbandmen. He was, by the above means, enabled to carry on his measures for some

short time, but his coffers were in the happy situation of one of the roguish servants of Terence, who exclaims, "*Plenus rimarum sum, huc atque illuc perfluo.*" His own soldiers began to be mutinous, and he was driven to unjust and unwise measures for relief. Amongst other things he accused the widow of the brave Murad Bey, the bold opponent of Napoleon, of aiding the Mamlukes—his object being to draw some money from her, of which the lady had an exceeding store. She was held in great veneration by all the chiefs of her nation, and all the ministers of religion; and, to shew their respect towards her, her style was *Nefyssah Sitty*, the latter word being equivalent to the French "*Madame.*" On his tyrannical bearing towards the Sitty, the exasperation of the people against Kourchid was increased, and it considerably extended its circle, on his compelling the proprietors to pay a new miry.

It was at this date (1814) that Mahomed Ali received a firman from the Porte, ordering him and the Albanians in Egypt, to return to their own homes. Whatever outward ceremonies of respect he might have evinced on the solemn occasion, certain it is, that his heart was rife with disobedience, for he totally disregarded the mandate of the Sublime Porte. His services were, indeed, useful to Kourchid, for the Mamlukes were again making head, and Mahomed was not only the most enterprising soldier in the ranks of the

Viceroy, but the most successful; from the circumstance of his possessing that degree of prudence and caution, without which the finest chances of success will be unavailing. But so great was Kourchid's fear of this officer, that though he required his services against those ever active firebrands, the Mamlukes, still he wished him out of the country. Suddenly Mahomed expressed a desire to return to Cavalla, and as an earnest of his determination he made sale of a considerable portion of his possessions. This was a cunning contrivance for the purpose of sounding public opinion. He was anxious to see what effect the news of his departure would have upon the inhabitants of Cairo, and in what manner it would affect the soldiery: at the same time, by every possible contrivance, he sought to ingratiate himself with the people; and circumstances most opportunely assisted his desire. The troops were in a fearful state of insubordination, a long arrearage of pay was due, they had become clamorous, and their every action foreboded a storm. It burst, at length, and Mahomed was the only man capable of withstanding its impetuosity, and screening the affrighted inhabitants of Cairo from its fury. By his orders, the ringleaders amongst the rioters were seized and beheaded, and their mangled carcases exposed to public view, as a warning to their companions. This raised him high in the estimation of the populace, and still more so did his

subsequent services against the Mamlukes at Minyeh, which place they abandoned to the Albanian chiefs. On his return to Cairo, Kourchid would have opposed him at Torrah, by means of a body of Delhis, which, a short time previously, had arrived from Syria. But the corps was too weak to effect opposition to the army of Mahomed, and he not only marched into the place, but, by his subtle address, gained the Delhis over to his party. Thence the Albanian soldiers proceeded, without opposition, to their quarters at Cairo.

The situation of Egypt was most melancholy and deplorable. The Mamlukes were partly at Manfalout, and partly in the occupation of the province of Fayoum. Mahomed Ali had possession of Cairo; but Aboukir and Djizeh were in the Mamluke occupation, while a host of half starved voracious Arabs were ravaging Lower Egypt, like a swarm of locusts. Added to all this, the vice-regal authority was in contempt, and the Viceroy's purse without a para. His own army, consequently, from being the guardians of the public safety, had been, through want and necessity, converted into a turbulent band of robbers, and dreadful were the excesses they daily perpetrated. The people ran for protection to their Sheiks, the Sheiks reclaimed the protection of the Viceroy, the Viceroy admonished the troops, but the troops per-

sisted in their abandoned courses. When the people were almost driven to madness, a firman arrived, appointing Mahomed Ali Pacha of Djedda, on the other side of the Red Sea, and the Port of Mekka. Mahomed refused to enter the citadel, in order to assume the paraphernalia of his new dignity, but agreed to meet the Viceroy and the Cadi, in a private house in the city. As he issued from the door, after having assumed the mantle and the cap, peculiar to his rank, the mutinous soldiery met him boldly, threatening violence unless their wants were immediately satisfied. "What can I do for you?" cried the vulpine Cavalliot, "I am merely a servant of the Pacha, and the Pacha is here, turn therefore to him." He then mounted his Arab, and scattering some money amidst the crowd, departed. The Albanians followed up Mahomed's advice to the very letter. They turned on the Pacha like hungry wolves. They laid hold of him—accused him of peculation—ill-treated him —and would have deprived him of his liberty, until all the arrears of pay had been made good: but, most fortunately for himself, the governor, by the assistance of some prompt friends, effected his escape, and shut himself up in the citadel. Being thus baulked of their prey, the armed mob harassed and drove the people to despair by their intolerable behaviour.

This happened about May, 1805. The Sheiks

became exasperated, and laid a representation of the condition of the people—of their situation, and of the numberless tyrannizing acts, not only on the part of the Pacha, but of the undisciplined, licentious soldiery, which had driven them to despair, before the principal officers of Kourchid, and the Cadi of Cairo. The only redress which they obtained, was an assurance that their memorials had been transmitted to the Pacha, who kept himself locked up in the citadel, and who, after considering their case, would grant the needful reparation. This was cold comfort for men in their miserable circumstances, and they determined on decided measures. They proceeded in a body to the Cadi's court of justice; but the Cadi, like a well disciplined functionary, shut his doors in their faces. They turned away in disgust, and directed their steps to the residence of Mahomed Ali. To him they explained their grievances, and their horror at the tyranny of Kourchid; they besought him to take pity on the wretched people, whose chiefs they were, and who were dying under the inflictions of the Pacha and his ravenous myrmidons; to, in fact, take on himself the office of Viceroy. The simulating Mahomed seemed to be thunderstruck at their proposal, and refused them, but in so faint a tone, and with so meaning a side-glance, that the petitioners were induced to repeat and urge, yet more strongly, their request.

At length, he yielded consent. On this he was clothed with the mantle of viceroyalty; and the Cavalliot captain was, to the satisfaction of the sheiks and fellahs, proclaimed the new representative of the Sublime Porte.

CHAPTER IV.

Kourchid Pacha — His Services against Ali Pacha of Jannina — His miserable Death—the Mamlukes—Their Opposition to Mahomed Ali—Their Defeat—Elfy Bey—Arrival at Alexandria of the Capitan Pacha—Proceedings of Mahomed Ali—Death of Elfy Bey and of Osman Bey Bardissy—Hostilities between Great Britain and the Porte—Colonel Sebastiani—Admiral Duckworth's Expedition —Defeat of the English.

Still Kourchid Pacha, as was to be anticipated, held out in the citadel. Mahomed prepared to force him to a capitulation, by attacking him in his strong hold, but the latter invoked the assistance of the Mamlukes, and they obeyed the summons. The Capitan Pacha, however, cast anchor before Alexandria; and, by his selikdar, sent an instant summons to Kourchid, not only to place the citadel in the hands of Mahomed, but to repair, without delay, to his head-quarters. The slave of the Sultan knew no will but that of his master, as pronounced by this high delegate. Yet, this compliance was not given with readiness: he

would have resisted, but he lacked courage, and that "prudence" which is "the better part of valour," and which, in Egypt, has always the fear of the capidji-bashy, and the bowstring before its eyes, as timorous children, in western countries, have the rawhead and bloody-bones of nursery fable, whispered him to yield assent to the summons of the admiral's deputy. He, accordingly, capitulated. Alas! unfortunate Kourchid—little did he know the fate that awaited him. After he quitted Egypt, he headed a body of men in the war against Russia. Subsequently, being appointed to the Pachalic of Aleppo, he wished to harass that city with his customary exactions, but the populace rose against him, and drove him from the walls. He was then despatched against old Aly Pacha, of Jannina; and, after the fall of that bold Albanian rebel, the Porte suspected their own servant of having appropriated to himself, and concealed, the treasures of the audacious and slaughtered outlaw. There is only one fate that invariably awaits all the suspected by the Sultan—Death. It was Kourchid's lot to lose his head by a blow of the yatagan.

The spirit of Kourchid, however, was, in the person of his lieutenant, active amongst the malcontent Mamlukes, who held out in Dgize, and threatened the "Great City" with a siege. They absolutely approached Cairo, and commenced negotiations with some of the principal

Sheiks, who were persuaded by Mahomed to lend their services on the occasion, and act as decoys to the unheeding enemy. Those Sheiks, however, had, in truth, received ample provocation, inasmuch as, in all the ravaging excursions of the Mamlukes, their respective villages had been not only ransacked, but taken possession of, until duly and dearly ransomed. They played their parts remarkably well, deceiving the Mamlukes in the completest manner. These last came by the Mokattam to the gate of Victory, which happened to be open, for the purpose of admitting some countrymen with their loaded camels. The Mamlukes entered, and finding no force on the spot to guard its safety, they put implicit faith in all the wild promises of the heads of the people; and, dividing their numbers into two parties, they hurried into the city. In rushing along, they shouted in triumph, and sounded all their instruments of martial music, in joyous anticipation of success. But their eyes were soon opened to their situation; being attacked on all sides, driven from post to post, and slaughtered like so many bellowing bullocks by the infuriated multitude, who were sufficiently recompensed by the large booty they collected, – not only by stripping the dead, and the prisoners, but by easing the dromedaries of their packages, which, according to ancient custom, and on every occasion, follow their owners, loaded with whatever, of the greatest value, they

possess. Meanwhile, the chief prisoners were carried before the rampant Pacha. He received them with supercilious contempt; marking out, especially, Ahmed Bey of Damietta, for his jeering mockery. But he was addressing, to use the word of the poet, one of the

> "Souls made of fire, and children of the Sun,
> With whom revenge is virtue,"

and who would have made a manifestation of his possession of that most excellent virtue, but the star of the Viceroy had the ascendant. Ahmed's hands were tied. He complained of thirst, and the guards loosened the cords which bound him, and handed him a vessel of water. On the instant, he caught a dagger from a bystander's side, and rushing towards his taunter, would have stabbed him to the heart. The Pacha fled, and Ahmed fell under the innumerable blows of the assailant guard. All the prisoners were massacred without mercy, and eighty-three heads were sent in trophy, to adorn the Seraglio walls of Constantinople.

The Mamluke power never recovered this severe blow. Mahomed then turned his attention towards the Delhis, who glutted, in the Delta, their customary rapacity for plunder. An expedition was levelled against these monsters; but, on the first intelligence of this measure, the wretched, rascally crew, most wisely absconded,

taking with them booty of every description, including many camels, women, and children.

Mahomed, however, notwithstanding all these acts of cunning and generalship, felt the want of what has been aptly enough denominated, the sinews of war. And to get a sufficient supply he resorted to an entirely new expedient. It was simply this, instead of laying a capitation tax on the people, he laid his hands on his receiver general, George Gohary by name, and a Copt, and threatened him with a capitation tax of a most effectual kind, unless he gave in his accounts for the five preceding years. The administration of the country, indeed, had been ruinous in the extreme, and peculation and robbery were openly matters of every-day enactment. Thus it was that Egypt, than which no country, through a bountiful nature, is richer on the face of the earth, was constantly in a state of bankruptcy. The *Chançellor of the Exchequer's* malpractices, however, were discovered; he was obliged to refund nearly five thousand purses, and, like another—was dismissed from office. When this sum was expended, however, the body of the Copts was not spared, and the exactions of the Pacha reduced some of them to beggary. The arrival, too, of a caravan from Arabia and the East, was a tempting prize for his not over-qualmish appetite. He wished to lay hands upon the costly goods which it had brought for the merchants of Cairo;

but they, by a timely donation of a thousand purses, were rejoiced to purchase his forbearance. In addition to all this, by fawning and flattering, the Viceroy, *through the Sheiks*, collected from the proprietors the third of their yearly incomes.

Mahomed had yet another most essential matter to effect—his nomination by the Porte. The remaining Mamlukes, and Elfy, in particular, were endeavouring to conciliate the good graces of the Capitan Pacha, still at Alexandria. But the Albanian had been too wary for the Mamluke: all the officers of the Admiral had been gained over to his party, and cultivated, to advantage, the favourable disposition of the Capitan. But he was deposed; another Capitan Pacha was on his way to Alexandria, for the purpose of assisting Elfy in his assumption of the Vice-regal mantle. Mahomed now endeavoured to sow discord between that leader and his brother beys, by exciting the jealousy of the latter, at the former's good fortune, and at the same time he lavished bribes amongst the partizans and adherents of Elfy, and brought treason home to that officer's very door.

The new Capitan, at length, arrived with his fleet at Alexandria, and despatched a Capidji Bashi to Grand Cairo, summoning the Pacha to depart, on the instant, for that port; where his master was ready to bestow upon him the government of Salonica. But our Albanian hero demurred at this soft invitation, and a good reason

and forcible, he had for so doing. He had his spies, too, at the Divan, of him whose slave he most meekly professed himself to be, and these had reported to their employer that the Capitan had private orders, in case he was so silly as to venture into the lion's den, to measure the circumference of his neck with a supple bowstring. So the Pacha sent his substitute to Alexandria, whom he instructed to express his most perfect readiness to obey the summons of his august Lord the Sublimity, but for the enormous sum in which he stood indebted to the troops, twenty thousand purses or so, these last were so unwilling to suffer his departure, that they actually followed him about the live-long day, fearful lest, by some odd chance, he should take short leave and escape: and right well did he act up to his representation. For he drilled those of his officers and soldiers, in whom he had the greatest confidence, in the part they were to play—that of suspicious, clamorous, and fierce creditors, so that whenever he appeared in public, after him came his noisy retinue. He did yet more; for by working on their feelings, and on his army at large, he made them give expression to their partiality for him. Mahomed, indeed, to the soldiery, was of inestimable value; for, whereas other governors and generals had suffered the pay due to that body to accumulate, totally regardless of the time and manner of liquidation, Mahomed, on all occasions, made the

army his primary care, discharging always their demands in fulness, and with regularity, though he wrung the necessary sums from the reluctant grasp of his other subjects. Besides this quality, not the least in value among barbarian or civilized soldiers, he had other claims on their esteem and regard: he was bold, enterprising, and had, with a slight exception or two, been always victorious. Fully aware, therefore, of his value in these several respects, he called his officers around him, and explained to them his situation, and his unwillingness to quit their command. Possessing powers of rhetoric, argument, and persuasion, of no ordinary degree, he employed them all on this so momentous occasion. Unexpected success crowned the effort. The rude Albanians not only swore to stand by him to a man, and uphold him in his place, but they even produced the money, which they had collected in their hard campaigns, and placed it at his disposal. It amounted to two thousand purses, and these the Pacha transmitted, overland, by a trusty messenger, and with secret instructions, for their expenditure at Stamboul.

Assured of his army, he began to put the citadel of Cairo into order. The fortifications were repaired, and stores of provisions and necessaries laid in for a siege. The Sheiks, too, were with him, and furnished a memorial to the Admiral, setting forth the great evils which had resulted from the administration of other governors. The great good which they

had enjoyed under the paternal protection of Mahomed Ali, the lover of justice, and the friend of the people, and that their desire was to retain him as a ruler over them. What these entreated, the subject of their entreaty had determined to retain and dispute with the fierce energy of one whose title to a dearly purchased and dearly beloved prize was about to be questioned. He asked those around him, whether he should not shew himself a fool and a craven, if after having won the supreme station with only five hundred men at his disposal, he were to abandon his post to his enemies, now, that he counted at his side fifteen hundred resolute countrymen, and companions in arms? "Cairo is to be publicly sold," he repeated "whoever will give most blows of the sabre, will win it, and remain master."

He gained Egypt, however, without striking one blow against the emissary and high officer of the Sultan! The "honey words" of the Albanian stood him in more stead than could have done the finest sabre that ever was forged by Damascene. It has already been said that, by his address, he had excited jealousies amongst the Mamlukes; these jealousies quickly manifested themselves amongst the leaders of that order. One stipulation made by Elfy, was to pay fifteen hundred purses to the Capitan Pacha, for the joint benefit of that officer, and the Grand Vizir. This he had not the ability to discharge, and therefore requested the Capitan

Pacha's agent to apply to Ibrahim the old chief, and Bardissy, for these two, in fact, commanded the other great divisions of the Mamluke corps. When the agent so obeyed, they sneeringly answered, that they were only the subjects of Elfy, and that he, who was so great a potentate, could not most surely be without so small a sum as was then demanded, since they were absolutely destitute. Bardissy, it must nevertheless be observed, was influenced by the suggestions of the French Consul at Alexandria. He had represented to him the high favour which he enjoyed in the consideration of Napoleon, who was desirous of cultivating the friendship of the Pacha of Egypt: for to this station he would apply the whole resources of his empire to raise that chief.

The replies and determination to remain passive spectators, evinced by the two Beys, were sufficient to cool the friendly ardour of the Admiral. Elfy, consequently, who for some time had been laying siege to Damanhour, offered proposals of peace to the Pacha; but they were rejected with contempt. The Porte now became embroiled with Russia, and ordered home its High Admiral, with secret instructions to make the best possible terms with Mahomed, and leave him in quiet possession of the Viceroyalty, since he who had so ably won his distinction, was likely to preserve it most effectually. The Admiral, therefore, agreed with Mahomed, that the latter should pay four

thousand purses into the treasury of the Grand Seignor, and, until such payment, should give a sufficient hostage. Mahomed closed with the offer, and handed over his son Ibrahim, who, with his brothers, and many other members of his family, had come to Egypt, to share the bounties of the fortunate Viceroy. The Capitan departed, and Mahomed soon after received the regular diploma, confirmatory of his rank, from Constantinople. Elfy, thus deserted by his friend the Capitan, and his patron the Porte, turned his attention towards the English, when his further career was cut off by the hand of death. He had struck his tents from before Damanhour, and was making a hasty journey into Upper Egypt. He became pensive and melancholy, on being convinced of the nothingness of all his dreams of ambition, and as he passed beneath Cairo, he turned towards it, and his grief broke forth in these words: "Oh, City, inheritance of my people, think on thy children! They are destitute, and scattered in every quarter, like the sands of the desert: whilst thou hast bowed thy head to fierce robbers, who destroy thy halls, tear down thy palaces, violate thy women, and tarnish the ancient lustre of thy name!"

He then turned from the walls with a sigh, and was proceeding on his journey, when he beheld a troop of Arabs, who were ravaging some corn fields; and galloping towards them, in exces-

sive fury, and followed by his immediate suite, he put them to flight. This was his last effort, for he fell senseless from his horse, and, when carried into his tent, vomited forth bile and blood. "All is now over with me," he exclaimed, "and Egypt is the property of Mahomed Ali, for there remains not one arm to oppose his usurpation." After naming his successor, he died, with every mark of poison, though many have affirmed it was only an attack of *cholera morbus*.

About this same time, too, died Osman Bey Bardissy, who might be termed the *Hotspur* of the Mamlukes. He was as bold, as enterprising, and as improvident, as our own hero. In Elfy and Bardissy, their celebrated order lost their last hope, and their only stay. Ibrahim was too aged for action; he could only administer the advice of experience: but all the old man's advice was useless, when uttered to a set of plundering vagabonds, for this, exactly, was the fit denomination for their body. Egypt, as the dying Elfy had said, was indeed Mahomed's, since now not one formidable opponent remained.

Mahomed proposed overtures of peace to the successors of the deceased Elfy; but they were foolishly rejected. The heads of the Mamluke faction (which it might now most certainly be called) were abiding in Upper Egypt: and there Mahomed Ali, after having, on his way thither, defeated a large party of their troops, was

prepared to follow them, in the hope of effecting their utter annihilation as a political body, when hurried despatches reached him from the Porte, informing him of the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire.

This rupture was the work of the French. The English and the Russians had been leagued against the influence of Napoleon. It was the object of both parties to win over the Grand Seignor. In co-operation with England, Turkey would form only an equipoise of power; but with Bonaparte, it would be the turning feather in the scale, which would secure to him the power of striking an irreparable blow upon Austria and Russia. While, in the north, by having Holland and Prussia in subjugation, France came into absolute contact with Russia, Turkey had also to fear from his influence in the south: for General Marmont was in Dalmatia, with forty thousand men; and, by drawing supplies at his pleasure from the kingdom of Italy, he could bear down transversely, and in formidable array, on the Ottoman empire. Could Napoleon, therefore, gain the Sultan to his side, Russia could be assaulted in both the north and the south; and Austria, cut off from all foreign resources, in consequence of his military chain through Switzerland and the Tyrol, to the confines of Croatia and Bosnia, must of necessity be added to the number of his vanquished slaves.

Napoleon found the very man for his purposes in Sebastiani, once a monk, and now a general. He had been appointed the representative of France at the Constantinopolitan Divan. From his first appearance at the capital, he had fomented the secret jealousy of the Porte against the influence of Russia in her councils. This he represented to be most glaring in the matter of the Hospodariot appointments, as settled by the Muscovite Plenipotentiaries in the treaty of Jassy. If we remember rightly, the stipulation on the part of Russia was, that the Hospodars of the two provinces should be only chosen septennially; or that, if any change of governors took place, it should not be done save by the free consent of Russia. This binding clause was certainly very hard for Turkey; but the cabinet of St. Petersburg was in a situation to exact, and the Divan was forced to yield by hard necessity. And in this her exaction, the Empress Catherine was supported by all the principles of modern diplomacy. The rule with her Imperial Highness, was the same with that prompted by the logic of our own favourite outlaw of the Highlands of Scotland :—

> " For why?—because the good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep, who can."

Still, an engagement once made, of whatever

nature may have been the preliminary measures, ought to be observed with integrity. A non-fulfilment is inconsistent with morality;—and the Turks certainly have a system of that kind, praised highly by Sale, though its excellence is not the consequence of any particular dispensation, but is simply attributable to the prompting of that emanation of divine essence, which has been denominated the soul of man. Yet the upright spirit of the Turk fell a victim to the insinuating casuistry of the Frenchman. Sebastiani prevailed; Turkey deposed her Waiwodes, without any intimation to Russia—and, by that act, joined the interests of France, and became the enemy of the cabinets of St. Petersburg and St. James.

But, by such a step, the Sultan had in no degree extricated himself from the difficulties incidental to his change of policy. Mr. Arbuthnot, the English minister at his capital, threatened him with the speedy vengeance of his sovereign. Poor Selim became sensible of his dangerous situation; but Sebastiani was prepared to prove to the Sultan the certainty of his annihilation by the Imperial Napoleon. The ministry of England were tardy in their retaliation: too many words were employed, both by them and their minister, Arbuthnot, and too little determination manifested to exact that vengeance which had been so often pronounced. The Turks were unable to effect a defence, and Admiral Duckworth's expedition

altogether failed of success. Fearful, however, that the French interference, which was so paramount at Constantinople, would be extended to Egypt, a plan for the invasion of that province was drawn up by General Fox, at Messina, and an armament of five thousand men was despatched, under Major General Mackenzie, for Alexandria. This place had been represented by Major Missett, our consul there, as favourable to the English, whose army was good, and the officers experienced; but the measure failed of success. Of what possible use was such a mere handful of troops, in so deadly a climate, and in a hostile and distant country? The possession of Egypt, to be sure, was of the utmost consequence to the French, and had for ages been the darling object of cupidity with her politicians. It is wrong to suppose that the scheme of Egyptian conquest originated with Napoleon Bonaparte. It is as old as the time of *Sanuto, the Venetian.* He mentions the subjugation of Egypt, by the Europeans, as the most effectual blow which could be struck against the towering power of the Crescent; and, for the objects of traffic, he strongly recommended this enterprize to the government. Count Feliasi, speaking of Sanuto's advice, has these remarkable words—"Si lo avessero fatto, il traffico dell' Indie orientali forse non sarebbe fuggito dalle loro mani." And Count Daru has the following passage:—

" En Egypte, ils (the Venetians) firent et renouvellèrent souvent des traités avec le gouvernement du pays ; ils se conformèrent à l'esprit du siècle, en sollicitant l'autorisation du Pape pour trafiquer avec les Mahométans ; mais, en même-temps, ils ne se faisaient pas scrupule de condescendre aux erreurs des infidèles, en intitulant leurs traités, *Au nom du Seigneur, et de Mahomet.* Leurs relations ne purent être, dans cette contrée, ni si étendues, ni si amicales qu'en Asie : aussi plus d'une fois conçurent-ils l'idée d'en faire la conquête : Marin Sanuto la leur conseillait, en leur disant que cette possession les rendrait mâitres de tout le commerce de l'Orient ; que la communication de l'Inde avec la Méditerrannée, par la Mer Rouge, était la plus courte, la plus économique, et la plus sûre ; qu'il n'était pas impossible d'établir une communication entre la Mer Rouge, et le Nil ; qu'indépendamment du commerce de l'Inde, il y avait, sur la côte orientale de cette mer, un pays abondant en aromates et en parfumes (plus tard on y aurait ajouté le Café); que l'Afrique elle-même offrait une riche matière au commerce, par son or, et son ivoire ; qu'enfin la possession de l'Egypte, pour une puissance maritime de la Méditerrannée, était préférable à la possession des Indes. Il ajoutait que les Vénetiens étoient alors la seule nation en état de tenter cette conquête." —*Histoire de Venice*, pp. 75, 76. tom. 3.

Leibnitz, too, sent a memorial on the subject to Louis XIV. He advises the Grand Monarch to lay hold of the land of the Pharaohs, for the purpose of destroying the maritime and commercial ascendancy of the Dutch—"*Hollandi*," says the philosopher, "*ex Egypto commerciis Indicis nullo negotio depillentur, quibus omnis eorum potentia hodie nititur; et longe certius, rectiusque affligirentur quam fieri possit maximo successu belli aperti.*"

Bonaparte, it will, therefore, be seen, only revived, by his invasion of Egypt, an old theory. For Holland place Great Britain, and the position of the philosopher's terms remains equally perfect. It is not to be wondered at, that, notwithstanding the stipulation in the treaty of Amiens, with respect to Egypt, both France and England should yet have been constantly striving to establish friendly communications in the country. Elfy would have proved an invaluable person to the latter, had he possessed, in an equal degree, that energy of mind so conspicuous in Mahomed; or, if no opponents like Mahomed had been in the field. But the French had gained over the subtler and stronger spirit, and the fortune of the day was theirs. The English expedition to Egypt proved entirely unsuccessful. It landed there on the 17th of March, 1807, and sailed away, according to agreement with the Pacha, on the 14th of September following, for Sicily. Our small army

suffered, during that space, most dreadfully. General Wancof, commanding the *chasseurs Britanniques*, was killed before Rosetta, where many of our brave men fell. Four hundred and fifty of their heads were publicly exposed at Cairo. Many prisoners, too, were taken, and conducted to that city.

The enterprize, on the part of the English ministry, was wrong in principle; childish in execution, from scantiness of numbers; and, as it is known, unfortunate in its result. The very best thing for Great Britain, that Napoleon could have undertaken, would have been a second expedition to Egypt. The advantage, then, would have been ours in every way. In the first place, the expedition owing to the unhappy fate of the army under Menou, was of a most unpopular character throughout all the French empire. Next, we might have met their armament at sea, and destroyed it. Then the Egyptians, themselves, would have risen against the army of France; for they, and most certainly their ruler, would have been most inimical to a foreign domination—particularly, as he had played so deep and difficult a game to win his Viceroyalty from the Ottoman. And, finally, that measure which could have drawn away any portion of the French Emperor's army from the plains of Europe, and thus narrowed, there, his sphere of action and annoyance, would have favoured the cause of Eng-

land, by facilitating the subjugation of his remaining forces. As it was, we lost our army, lavished our treasures, and tarnished the lustre of that fairer day, on which the gallant Abercrombie fell.

CHAPTER V.

Departure of the English from Egypt—Misery of the Inhabitants of Egypt—Mahomed Ali's Exactions—Exasperation of the Sheiks—The Sultan sends Presents to the Viceroy of Egypt—Toussoun appointed Pacha of Two Tails—Destruction of the Mamlukes—Dreadful State of Cairo—Mahomed Ali's Remark on the Massacre of the Mamlukes.

Immediately on the departure of the English, the Pacha turned his attention, once more, to his old enemies, the Mamlukes. Those, however, of the House of Elfy, entreated his clemency. He took them into seeming favour, and gave them, in proof, the whole province of Fayoum. Their leader he loaded with rich presents and words of grace, and then dismissed him in the fond belief that he was anchored, at length, in the safe harbour of the Pacha's friendship.

Still he did not lose sight of the other ramifications of that dangerous order. To effect his plans,

however, he had to tax his ingenuity to the highest point. His exchequer was empty. The wants of his army were like a whirlpool—continually clamorous, and swallowing everything within their suction. Though he had less than twenty thousand men, his officers received pay in proportion to an army of nearly ninety thousand effective men. Yet this was an evil to which the Pacha found himself compelled to yield; for his was a military government, and if his army were to become irate and rebellious, where would he find himself? Certainly not on the throne. The villages of the Delta and the Said, were falling into ruins; the inhabitants, no longer able to support the burthen of the imposts, had long deserted their dwellings, and fled into the Oases and distant quarters. In the country, agricultural labour was at a stand: in the cities, the few remaining inhabitants—wretched, ragged and hungry—were passing away the day in supplications to Heaven for relief. A heavy taxation was imposed on every article of merchandize, and the monopoly of tobacco was attempted; but both means failed to produce wherewithal to supply the exigencies of the Viceroy. The increase of the Nile, most opportunely for the people, intervened between them and starvation.

The Pacha was now so careless of acting in conformity with the views of the body of the people, that he courted only his military safeguard;

yet the former had been the stepping-stone to his elevation. He demanded from them the half of all religious endowments, whether hospitals, wells, or cisterns; mosques, or otherwise. The Sheiks demurred; but the Pacha threatened force. The Sheiks, exasperated, sent him word that they would use and waste limb, and life, and earthly goods for the protection of their sacred establishments: in fact, every thing tended towards a popular commotion. He, however, continued to flatter and cajole the people, and, when in a little better humour, he banished their chief and principal spokesman, Seydoman.

The day of Mamluke extermination was now drawing at hand. The Pacha had received repeated orders from Constantinople to undertake the celebrated expedition against the Wahabees. This he was anxious to do, for there was much glory and greater riches to be acquired by the adventure; if, too, it should prove successful, all his enemies would be intimidated, and the Pacha himself seated as firmly as a rock on the ancient throne of the Pharaohs. But it would have been a manifestation of childish reliance and ignorance to send the very flower of his army on so distant an enterprize, while such deadly and ever active enemies as the Mamlukes were left to revel and to plunder in the very centre of his dominions. This reasoning induced the determination for their thorough eradication from the country. Maho-

med's resolves were like the "*dicta Parcarum*," and though they were tardy in completion, still that tardiness was yet a surer sign of the fixedness and obstinacy of purpose, seldom manifested in youth, always the characteristic of old age.

"Gradum studio celerabat anili."

His plan was effected on the occasion of a public festival. The Grand Seignor had sent his Kislar Aga to Cairo, as bearer of costly presents to the Pacha, and the firman appointing Toussoun the son of Mahomed, to the dignity of a two-tailed Pachalic. The same youth had been by his father nominated general of the army of Arabia. The 1st of March 1811 was the day set apart for the investiture of Toussoun: and the ceremony was ordered in the citadel. The principal portion of the Mamluke body, that indeed most conspicuous for its activity and boldness, under Elfy's successor, Chahyn Bey, had been enticed some time previously into the city, loaded with honours and attentions, and quartered in an appropriated part of the city. These Mamlukes had been invited to take part in the parade and festivities of the day; and they consented to do so. In the morning Chahyn Bey, with his staff and officers, apparelled in whatever they possessed of the greatest cost and magnificence, came to the Pacha's hall of audience in the citadel, to offer their congratulations on so joyous an occasion. Mahomed received

them with the greatest affability. They were presented with coffee; and he conversed with them severally, with openness of heart, and serenity of brow. But the serpent lay hidden in its bed of roses!

The procession was ordered to move from the citadel, along a passage cut in the rock. The Pacha's troops moved first, followed by the Mamluke corps. As soon, however, as they had passed the gate, at that end of the rocky passage which leads to the citadel, it was shut suddenly against the latter, and Mahomed's forces were ordered to the top of the rocks, where they were perfectly secure from the aim of their victims, and whence they leisurely fired upon the defenceless Mamlukes, and butchered them in cold blood, almost to a man; for escape was difficult, that end of the defile by which they had entered having been also closed, and its breadth, in many parts, being so scanty that two horsemen could with difficulty stand side by side. Of those who were fortunate enough to find shelter in the Pacha's harem, in Toussoun's abode, and elsewhere, all were mercilessly dragged forth, conducted before the Kiaya Bey, and beheaded on the spot. The body of the brave leader Chalyn, was exposed to every infamy. A rope was passed round the neck, and the bloody carcase dragged through various parts of the city, exposed all the while to the execrations and the contumely of the inflamed populace. The citadel

itself looked like a hideous slaughter-house, newly deluged with the blood of victims, and overstrown with a multitude of reeking carcasses. Dead steeds lay confusedly along the streets, with their golden caparisons soiled in the filthy compound of dirt and gore; their knights, some with limbs hacked off, others without their heads, still clenching their scymitars with the last despairing, yet desperate grasp of death, were flung near their war-horses, prostrate in a black puddle of their own life-blood. Their numerous followers* were cast around their masters, pierced with many balls, their faces depicting that malice, which raged in their hearts, sprung from their disappointment at not being able to bequeath their dying hatred to a successor.

Among the number of the slaughtered, Mahomed counted four hundred and seventy Mamlukes. Orders, however, had been generally circulated for their universal destruction, throughout the country. The Pacha's ministers of murder raged throughout the city, like a herd of ravenous tigers. Those who had private revenge to gratify, sought their victims among even the people, and in such a moment of licentiousness, fulfilled their purpose with impunity. Others of his myrmidons, again, went in bands, wherever the richest booty tempted their greediness, and tore down and pillaged, without mercy or moderation. Many private

* Each Mamluke had a running groom, or sceyo, who, on all occasions, attended his master, even in moments of the greatest peril.

individuals were assassinated in secret, or insolently felled down in the streets. The sanctity of the marriage bed was polluted, daughters were ravished, wives led away with yells of savage triumph. No one of sufficient authority was present to curb the atrocities of the soldiery. The shops had been closed, the inhabitants had very early run into their houses and secreted themselves, and their treasures, in the darkest hiding place they could find, while the streets afforded an open and free course for the military anarchy. The houses of the Mamlukes were the first to be stripped, for they were ever the most richly furnished. Nothing could exceed the violence, the rapacity, and the abominations evinced and perpetrated by Mahomed's unbridled army. Five hundred houses were sacked and destroyed. This continued for a day or two, until the Pacha had summoned sufficient courage to venture down from the citadel.

He was cautious in not doing this, until he saw that the first impulse of popular violence had subsided. He, then, most certainly endeavoured to repair every mischief. Both he, and Toussoun Pacha, went about the city, suppressing tumult, capitally punishing robbers and pillagers, and hunting out single Mamlukes, who, not having formed part of the fatal procession, had continued to secrete themselves in various parts of the city.

The Kiaya Bey beheaded them all without reserve. Some, however, escaped in the dress of Delhis, others disguised as women. They, foolishly, bent their flight towards Upper Egypt, where eventually, and with few exceptions, they were caught and slaughtered. The number of victims amounted, in the end, to upwards of a thousand. The heads of the principal beys were embalmed, and sent as a grateful present to the Divan of Constantinople; one only of the chiefs is supposed to have escaped, Amyn Bey by name, who, with his whole suite, took refuge in Syria. His escape was attributable to chance, for having been delayed, he only arrived at the citadel, at the moment that the Delhis were filing out of the gate. He waited till the troop had passed, but then, seeing the gate shut suddenly, and hearing, almost immediately after, the discharge of fire-arms, he put spurs to his horse, and, followed by his suite, only stopped when he was in safety.

Thus terminated the race of the far-famed Mamlukes of Egypt. They were the cause, however, of their own destruction. Had the advice of the aged Ibrahim been attended to, they might have still existed as a body. They would then have collected their numbers under one leader, according to whose commands all other subordinate beys would have acted, and the result would have been concentration of power, and unity of

purpose. Petty bickerings and private jealousies destroyed them: so true is the holy maxim, that a house divided against itself can never stand.

This massacre, when morally considered, will remain a bloody page in the history of man; politically interpreted, it was the surest measure for the growth and continuance of the peace and prosperity of the province. The Mamlukes were restless firebrands; they inflamed and destroyed whatever they touched. They were an *imperium in imperio*, ever in opposition to the Porte, for the weal or the woe of the province; and Egypt never saw one favourable sun under the blight—the dense and destructive blight—spread far and wide by the Mamluke battalions. The Pacha's conscience, however, had, to all appearance, been little disturbed on recollection of the deed. He once heard that his conduct in this respect had been deeply censured in Europe. "I will have," said he, "a painting done, representing the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, and by its side will I place another of the Mamluke massacre. Let posterity decide on their respective merits!"

CHAPTER VI.

Toussoun's Campaign against the Wahabees—The State of Arabia—Rise of the Wahab Sectarians—Abdul Wahab—His Education—Principles of Wahab Faith—Eben Sehood of Derayeh—His Successes in War—Death of Abdul Wahab—The Sheik Abdelazeez—Destruction of Kebelah and of the Tomb of Hussein—Death of Abdelazeez—Sehood, his Son and Successor—The Sultan determines on Hostilities against the Wahabees.

BEFORE entering on Toussoun's campaigns against the Wahabees, it would not be lost time to cast a cursory glance at their history. Abdul Wahab, otherwise Abdul, the slave of the Most High, was the founder of the sect of the Wahabees. He was the son of Suleiman, the chief of the Ayani, an Arabian tribe of the Ared. Suleiman's trade was that of a camel-driver, or of one who lets out camels for hire. His principal customers were the Mahomedans of India, who yearly travelled the fertile region of the Ared, on their way to Mecca. The trade was most lucrative, and Sulei-

man became wealthy; but he saw with grief the approach of old age, and his own childless state. He sent up entreaties to Heaven—but all in vain, as he supposed, though, when he was about to abandon himself to melancholy and despair, he was suddenly blessed with a son and heir. Prodigies and events of a miraculous quality took place on the occasion, and succeeded each other with rapidity. Happy parent! on the advent of whose son the earth was convulsed to its very foundation, and mosques shook, and minarets trembled; in whose presence, lambent but resplendent flames played around the edifices of every city for leagues around, and the sacred lamps in the sepulchre of the Prophet of God himself were extinguished!

The child, born under such tremendous tokens and auspices, was surely worthy of the extremest care of his parent; accordingly, he was sent at the fitting age, to study under the good teachers of Bassora, and the subtle doctors of Damascus. Under their guidance, he was initiated into all the mysteries of Mahomedanism. This, however, would not satisfy him. The pure doctrines of the faith of Islam had been sheltered, as in a sure haven, within the sandy wastes of the Nedjd: for the inhabitants in this arid tract are poor and few, and thinly scattered; wherefore the clashing opinions of disputing casuists had no scope there for action. The dwellers in the land, Bedouins

by birth, and robbers, or wandering shepherds by profession, had little time for reflection: as their creed was delivered to them, so was it treasured up, pure and unadulterated, and so was it handed down to their posterity. In this respect the inhabitants of the western country, where there are many cities and towns, and an extended and dense population, differed materially from the simple Bedouins. With these people, the doctrines of the Prophet of God had been cast into the alembic by subtle logicians, doctors, and controvertists, and had been so frequently transmuted, that not one single vestige or mark of the nature of their original form, character, or essence, remained. Sects had followed sects, until, on account of the innumerable schisms made in the church, and the consequent disputes, and mutual violences of the sectarian parties, the country had the appearance of a habitation of restless and ravenous beasts. To the east, however, of the Nedjd, lies the fertile and populous province of Ared, where the inhabitants are more simple in their manners, more thoughtful in their actions, and less liable to the intrusion of strangers, than are the dwellers of the western country, and of the sea-shore. The people of the Ared, in consequence of their approximation to the Bedouins, imbibed the faith of these last, and becoming, in process of time, great sticklers for purity of doctrine, they were soon led to hate those of the followers of Islam, who had been

diverted from the path of strict discipline, and induced to adopt latitudinarian principles.

Abdul Wahab was born within the last decade of the seventeenth century. While at Bassora and Damascus, the rigid spirit of his party prompted him to inquire into the errors and heresies of the Prophet's followers. On his return, and after he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, he settled at Horeymla, in his native province, and married. The austerity of his life drew upon him the attention of the people, and he began to preach on the necessity of a reformation. But the people rose against him, and would have ill-treated the reformer, had he not made thence his escape. He went, then, to reside amongst the Ayani, with whom he tarried during eight years, gaining, by the irreproachable tenour of his life, and his piety, the love and veneration of his countrymen.

But his cruelty towards a poor prostitute, who, smitten by her conscience, sought for consolation from the Man of God, and, in lieu of consolation was, by his orders, stoned to death, excited against him the displeasure of the governor, El Hassa. This individual sent orders to the sheik either to banish, or to put Abdul Wahab to death. The former sentence was decreed against the fanatic. When he was on the point of quitting his native province, the inhabitants of Derayeh invited him amongst them. Abdul left his abode with a guide, who had been instructed to assassinate him. The

man's spirit, however, was troubled at the contemplation of the deed, and many times during the journey, his resolution gave way before the assumed sanctity of Abdul. Suddenly, they were met by a guard of honour from Derayeh, commissioned to escort the "more than prophet" to the city; and on the first glimpse of the armed body, the panic-stricken guide turned his horse's head, and stopped not, until he had fairly lost sight of his intended victim, and the approaching cortege. Eben Sehood was the sheik at Derayeh, and became a speedy convert to the doctrines of Abdul. The renown of his sanctity spread throughout the eastern portion of Arabia, and innumerable devotees flocked to his new abode from all quarters of the country, and, settling at Derayeh, became the most zealous of the subjects of Eben Sehood.

The principles of the creed of Abdul Wahab sprung from the recognition of a pure deism. Mahomed, the prophet, according to him, was only the mere instrument of God in promulgating the chapters of the Koran. He was simply a man—unregenerated, weak, ignorant, powerless both in the faculty of prophesying and working miracles. It was, therefore, base and idolatrous to pay homage to the ashes of such a mortal; still more so, to prostrate the body in supplication at the tombs of Ali, or the many saints of Islamite superstition. Their dust, said he, is as valueless as the dust of the desert, and should be given to the winds of

Heaven to scatter abroad, so that no two particles may remain together. Pilgrimages, to this reformer, were of no avail; relics possessed no healing attribute, or virtue. He disregarded the conflicting commentaries on the Koran, interpreting the text according to its naked and obvious meaning. He enjoined the necessity of praying daily, five several times; and of fasting during the season of the Rhamadan. He commanded his followers to eschew strong drinks; to abjure and punish severely fornication and incontinence; to avoid gaming, and the practice of magic; to bestow the hundredth part of all worldly goods in charity; to chastise false witnesses; to lay aside all ornament in dress, to discard all belief in the necessity of raising temples to martyrs, or supposed saints, and to be assured of the truth that funeral honours and mausoleums to the dead, were only the acts of a rank vanity. He painted to his followers the heinousness of the past idolatries of the race of Islam, and the beautiful cast of the future to be induced by the observance of his innovations.

"Such man has been, and such may yet become,
Aye, wiser, gentler, greater even than they
Who on the fragments of yon shattered dome
Have stamp'd the sign of power.—I felt the sway
Of the vast stream of ages bear away
My floating thoughts—my heart beat loud and fast,
Even as a storm let loose beneath the ray
Of the still moon, my spirit onward past
Beneath Truth's steady beams, upon its tumult cast."

Eben Sehood felt his power daily increased by the multiplication of new subjects, who came from all parts of Arabia, to bask in the sunshine of Abdul Wahab's spiritualizing countenance. That chief was a man sufficiently cunning in his generation, and he picked up and guarded vigilantly the pearl which the swinish herd of the Ayani had so scornfully rejected. As his consequence increased, so was Abdul courted and indulged in every conceivable wish by the sheik of Derayeh. His people, and the multitudinous proselytes who thronged his city, began to be actuated by that feeling which is uppermost in the breast of every fresh convert—hatred against those who are opposed to him in religion. They, therefore, desired to be led forth against the heretical sons of Islam, who were dwellers in the same land with themselves. This Eben Sehood was ready and glad to do. While Abdul Wahab remained at Derayeh as the spiritual chief of the new sectarians, Eben Sehood went forth in military array at the head of his followers, a very *Kaled*, or sword of God, to pour the vials of his wrath and vengeance on the heads of all non-conforming sinners. Success was his constant companion; his fame was blazoned throughout the whole country, and chiefs and sheiks listened with fear and trembling to his mandate.

Eben Sehood died in 1765, leaving his son Abdelazeez as his successor. This prince, even in his

father's life time, had signalized himself by many achievements. He placed great confidence in his son Sehood, and, assisted by him and by Abdallah, his own brother, he prosecuted with spirit those conquests which his father had so auspiciously undertaken; and as victory was his never-failing reward, he raised the Wahabite power to an all-controlling ascendancy. In 1770, after having subjugated every tribe of consequence around his patrimonial dominions, he was recognized by the scheriff of Mecca, who desired Abdelazeez to send a competent person to expound to him the maxims of Wahab. His reign, however, notwithstanding his extensive sway, was one hard and continued struggle for the maintenance of his pre-eminence. For neither tranquillity nor peace can be expected in a country of the nature and character of Arabia, where population in most places is thin, and tribes are small and self-governed; where the acts of the husbandman are unknown, and the life of the shepherd, or the violence of the robber, being the only sources of subsistence, the necessity for a frequent change of habitation is imposed upon the people, obedience to which is indeed easy, inasmuch as the solitudes of the desert offer the amplest scope to the most discursive Arab. When Abdelazeez had arrived at that period of his life, that existence assumed a precarious tenure, the Mullah Abdul assembled the followers of his creed, and secured the succession of the Wahab sceptre to

Sehood. This he accomplished, and it was the last memorable act of the old man, for he died in 1787, having numbered himself ninety-five years of active and laborious service.

The old reformer's death, however, made little stir amongst the sectarian Wahabees. The sovereign power was sufficiently confirmed in the family of Sehood, and the two existing leaders, father and son, were equal in zeal for the service of God, and in determination for the due maintenance of their individual rank, and their patrimonial honours. They led their followers abroad on such distant enterprizes that the people of Bassora were compelled to entreat the protection of Suleiman, Pacha of Bagdad. Suleiman brought an army against Sehood; but the young and fiery zealot routed his forces, drove him off in precipitate flight, and ravaged the province of Irak, where he and his soldiers committed most dreadful havoc. The news of his exploits were heard with fear at the Schah's court, whilst at the same moment Ghaleb, the scheriff of Mecca, was fain to make peace with the puissant Abdelazeez. Such was the extraordinary influence exercised, by what, in times not long since past, was a petty and almost nameless tribe of the Great Arabian Desert.

In the pride of his heart the scheik Abdelazeez, despatched Sehood, at the head of twenty thousand men, to capture the city of Kirbeleh, near the banks of the Euphrates. It is one of the most

renowned places of the east, as it contains the remains and the sepulchre of Hussein the son of Ali by Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet of God. To destroy this monument was the avowed object of the sectarians. The inhabitants of the devoted city made a feeble and ineffectual resistance; and it fell into the hands of the fanatics. They put all the males to death; sparing, however, old men, children, and women. The booty which they acquired was immense; for Kirbeleh, with Mesjed, which contains the tomb of Ali, are the two most favourite places of pilgrimage to the Persians, who are the followers of the last named saint. All the votive offerings, which, accumulating at Kerbeleh through ages, were of a prodigious amount, fell into the possession of the Wahabees. When the plunderers penetrated within the precincts of the sepulchre, they seized the Mullah, to whose custody was committed the guardianship of the sacred spot, and, on condition that his life was spared, he promised to point out the depositories of the concealed treasures. The stipulated safety was refused, and a furious Arab plunged his sabre into the suppliant's bosom. The hidden treasures remained hermetically sealed to all discovery. But the votive gifts around the sepulchre, and the ornaments of the mosque, were seized by the greedy soldiery. Among these were pearls and various jewels of inestimable value, with the plates of gold which covered the roof, and the

finest sabres, and the richest shawls of Cachmere and carpets of costly price, besides ornaments innumerable in massive gold and silver, and lamps and fire-arms of approved workmanship. In addition to these were captured a host of Nubian and Abyssinian slaves, and immense hoards of gold and silver coinage. The army of the fanatics was for eight hours suffered, in unbridled licence, to commit every species of havoc through the streets of Kerbeleh, and did not retire from the city until fatigue compelled the soldiers to suspend their violence. After this exploit, Sehood returned into his own country.

But vengeance was not slumbering after such atrocities were perpetrated. The spirit of just revenge, according to the rubric of Persian morals, moved the arm of one who held the tomb of Hussein in respect. He was a fanatic of the composition of Jacques Clement and Ravaillac. This person came to Derayeh, and whilst Abdelazeez was kneeling in supplication in the mosque, the assassin approached the scourge of his native country, and smote him to the heart. The blow was too sure, and the victim died – whilst the murderer was struck to the ground, dragged into the street, and offered as a propitiatory sacrifice to the spirit of the murdered sheik. In the Persian's turban was found a scroll, with these words: "Thy duty to thy God bids thee, as the most sacred of acts, to slay Abdelazeez. In escaping, rich rewards

await thee; but if thou fallest, thou shalt be translated to the joys of Paradise."

Abdelazeez was assassinated in 1803, and succeeded immediately by his son Sehood, who, in his turn, swore to take speedy vengeance for the murder of his father.

Sehood fulfilled his engagement to the letter. Bassora and Irak felt the prowess of his arms. The Scheriff of Mecca, Ghaleb, imagined the present moment very fitting to strike a blow against the Wahabite power. His Turkish followers, however, were like puny reeds before the fury of the fanatics. He was worsted in every engagement, and forced to entreat for peace. This was granted, and Sehood, at the head of forty thousand men, marched to Medina, placing which under a governor of his own nomination, he proceeded to Mecca. Here, he ordered the opening of the Prophet's tomb, whence he abstracted the many long-treasured jewels, consisting of diamonds and pearls, and rubies and emeralds, all which were publicly sold, and the proceeds, together with the bars of gold, formed from the melted vessels, chandeliers, and vases, were distributed amongst his soldiers. This last act, in the eyes of the Mussulmans, filled to the brim the cup of Sehood's abominations. All the Mahomedan world were indignant at the outrageous conduct of the Scheik of Derayeh; and Mahomed Ali, at the command of the Sublime Porte, fitted out an expedition to

hunt down and to the death this atrocious enemy of God and man. Yet this atrocious enemy had gained his ascendancy under the firm persuasion that he was thus working in the vineyard of the earth for the salvation of man, and the manifestation of the glory of God. Such motives have ever been most cogent with men; or, in the words of an old poet—

> "There is no danger to a man that knows
> What life and death is: there's not any law
> Exceeds his knowledge: neither is it lawful
> That he should stoop to any other law."

CHAPTER VII.

Ghaleb, Scheriff of Mecca—Toussoun, Pacha in Arabia—His first Successes—Medina re-captured, and the Keys of the City sent to the Divan at Constantinople—The Porte's Gratitude—Successes against Sehood—Mahomed Ali in Arabia—His Conduct towards Ghaleb—The Sheik banished to Salonica—His Death—the Death of Sehood—Abdallah, his eldest Son and Successor—Mahomed's return to Egypt—Toussoun follows—Ibrahim Pacha in Arabia—Final Subjugation of the Wahabees—Death of Abdallah.

For the purposes of the Wahabite war, a small fleet was made ready at Suez, and messengers despatched into Arabia, to report to the Viceroy the state of public feeling. The army consisted of eight thousand horse and foot, and Mahomed himself went to Suez, in order to see that proper attention was paid to the expediting all necessaries for the war.

The Scheriff of Mecca, who, only a short time previously, had declared for the Wahab Scheik, sent secret information to the Pacha, that immediately on the disembarkation of the Turks, he

would declare against the *Puritans* of Mahomedanism.

Toussoun Pacha captured Jedda and Yambo, but failed woefully before Safra, where half of his army perished. The young chief fortified his position at Yambo, and informed his father of the miserable issue of his first measures. Mahomed had recourse to every expedient to collect money. He taxed, heavily, all religious establishments, and laid heavy contributions on all towns, villages, and agricultural produce. Toussoun's army being thus reinforced, again took the offensive, regained Safra, and, marching on, after a siege of seventy-five days, gained Medina, where he appointed his own governor, and marched back to Jedda. The country between the two holy cities of pilgrimage was, by these last successes of the young general, completely cleared of the enemy. The keys of Mecca were sent to the Viceroy, and by him transmitted to Constantinople, while public rejoicings testified the feelings of the inhabitants of Cairo. The Wahabite governor of Medina too was arrested, sent to be adjudged by his Sublimity's self, and beheaded. Fresh reinforcements were ordered into Arabia, and Mahomed's bribes spread treachery amongst the Arab clans, and undermined imperceptibly the power of the Wahabees.

The Porte was so gratified at the offering of the keys of Medina, that he despatched one of his

household, the Cawedjy, or coffee bearer, with rich presents for the Viceroy's acceptance. Nor was Ghaleb, the Scheriff, forgotten by his delighted master. Toussoun seized Taif, and Sehood, the Wahab, sent one of his sons to repel the invaders. The opposing forces met near Tarabeh, in the circumjacent plains, thickly covered with date trees, and intersected with ditches. The Turks were under a subordinate leader, Mustapha Bey, the Wahabees under Ghalyeh, the Scheik's wife, of the tribe of Sobeyeh. The former were entirely routed, leaving with their adversaries their artillery and their baggage.

But the victory gained against Sehood in person more than compensated for the late defeat. Sehood had laid siege to Medina, and had been eminently successful against the Turkish forces in that quarter. Salah Aga was ordered by Toussoun against him, and he vanquished the main body of Sehood's army, under the conduct of that chief himself.

But still the Arabs, like a swarm of angry wasps, surrounded and harassed the Turkish army. While Sehood was discomfited and obliged to retreat on one side, tribes of hungry Bedouins on the other, emerged, at the instigation of the Wahabees, from the depths of Yemen, and spread their numbers in every direction, even to the very walls of Mecca and Jedda. All communication was destroyed; convoys were arrested; caravans plundered. Mahomed's soldiers could not contend

85762

against want. Food failed them; they were unable to bear up against constant fatigue and sore privations. They, therefore, died off like cattle seized with a murrain, to the number of some ten thousand, while of beasts of burthen there perished no less than forty or fifty thousand. The prodigious expenses consequent on these losses would have smitten a mind of second-rate capacity and strength, with doubt and imbecility; they came like harmless hailstones against the iron soul of Mahomed Ali. With individuals constituted like the Viceroy of Egypt, repeated successes so inflame the imagination, that mortal obstacles are disregarded, and the End only is kept constantly in view. For, in their pride of heart, they think themselves the chosen children of destiny, which, like an overfond mother, will gratify the most extravagant longing of their hearts. So was it with the youth of Macedon; so with the first bald Cæsar; so with him whose airy bubbles were destroyed at Waterloo. The prosperous chances of one successful adventure are sufficient enticement for a thousand desperate candidates for earthly preeminence; keeping in view the rule of the Greek poet—

Τι δ'αν φοβοιτ' ανθρωπος, ῳ τα της τυχης
Κρατει; προνοια δ' εστιν ουδενος σαφης;
Εικη κρατιστον ζην, ὁπως δυναιτο τις.

With this conviction, the Pacha determined on joining his son Toussoun in Arabia.

Mahomed arrived, in August, 1813, at Jedda, and was received by his son and the Scheriff. This officer, in the eyes of the Pacha, possessed not sufficient energy for his situation; to depose him, therefore, became in his consideration an act of necessity. Abstract notions of injustice were never suffered to play the part of bugbears to the conscience of the Viceroy, who sent for his son Toussoun to Mecca, and determined on striking a blow against the chief of the holy city. The young general arrived, and Ghaleb came to pay him a visit of ceremony. After a long conference, as he was on the point of departure, from an adjoining apartment issued an officer and guard, and laid him under arrest. The Scheriff surrendered without resistance, while Toussoun assured him that, so far from an act of treachery or hostility, it was one of pure friendship! Mahomed, his father, had laid him under arrest, that he might the better be enabled to enact the mediator between Ghaleb and the Sublime Porte. Yielding a blind credence to these honied words of promise, the Scheriff sent for his children, who had shut themselves up in the citadel, and desired them to yield obedience to the Pacha's orders. They did so, were arrested, and cast into prison. They were afterwards hurried to Jedda, carried on shipboard, and taken to Cosier, to await the orders of Mahomed Ali. From Cosier, Ghaleb was escorted to Cairo, and there, with his children, confined.

The Pacha found immense treasures in the Scheriff's coffers, and from these, it is said, he transmitted a portion, and some valuable jewels, to the Divan of Constantinople: but his gift was rejected; the money and jewels were returned by a messenger or Capidji-bashy, who bore peremptory orders to the Viceroy, to make restitution to the injured chief. This was never done, though Ghaleb received a sum of money, and was sent to Salonica, where he and his family successively died.

Intelligence, too, arrived at Mecca, of the death of Sehood, in the 68th year of his age. He died, as he had lived, in the midst of arms. He had married four wives, and left eleven children, of whom the eldest, Abdallah, succeeded to the vacant dignity at Derayeh. But Abdallah was a dastard, and little worthy of succeeding to a throne which had been graced by a line of warriors. The Pacha had been very successful against the Bedouins of the south; but having been obliged to leave suddenly for Cairo, Toussoun was in the utmost distress at El Rass. His supplies were cut off by the Wahabees under Abdallah, and his military chest had been completely drained to the last para. His situation was desperate, and he was most justly in alarm. At this juncture, when the Sheik of Derayeh had only to strike a blow, and hurl destruction on the Pacha's forces, he sought for peace.

The Turks were astounded, as well they might be, at the fortunate turn of affairs, and they did

not hesitate in closing with the proposition of Abdallah. When they were forlorn, they were thus enabled to prescribe the following terms to Wahab: —That Abdallah Eben Sehood should swear allegiance to the Sublime Porte; that, if ordered by the Sultan to Constantinople, he should without hesitation repair thither; that he should yield his capital city into the hands of the Pacha's deputy, and himself bear and be satisfied with the distinction of El Belled of the Wahabees; that he should restore all the spoil taken from the tomb of the Prophet of God; that he should create no obstacle to the Mussulman pilgrimages; and that he should, at all times, hold himself in obedience to the Governor of Medina.

It has already been said that Mahomed Ali had repaired to Cairo: the cause of his sudden and rapid journey was the receipt of intelligence that Bonaparte had escaped from Elba. The Viceroy, like all possessors of ill-gotten power or riches, was eternally haunted with the suspicion that competitors might arise to contend his prize with himself. Of Bonaparte's designs on the Egyptian provinces, and of the value which he placed upon them, he was well aware; and against him, especially, was Mahomed most vigilant. Immediately, therefore, that he heard of the ex-Emperor's escape from his isle of confinement, the Pacha hastened to his capital, sent reinforcements, artillery, ammunition, and provisions to Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta, and

commenced to remodel his army, after the principles of European discipline. This measure was altogether repugnant to the Mussulman spirit; innovations are forbidden by the Koran. Selim, the Sultan, had, on a similar occasion, fallen a victim to the fury of the Janissaries, and a conspiracy was formed to assassinate Mahomed Ali. But he received private intelligence of the design, and, escaping from his palace, shut himself up in his citadel. The conspirators committed great excesses in the town, firing mansions, and plundering bazaars and shops; though they were, finally, dispersed. In order to prevent similar commotions, the Pacha ordered encampments for his troops in Lower Egypt. The soldiers departed without opposition, led by Toussoun, who, on the first news of the insurrection, had hastened from Jedda to join his father.

The amicable understanding between Abdallah, the son of Sehood, and Mahomed Ali, was not destined to be of long continuance. The latter could little brook so formidable a personage in his neighbourhood; the former was disinclined to renounce his pre-eminence over his sectarian subjects. The issue, therefore, was a rupture, and the plea, on the Viceroy's part, was the Sheik's refusal to go, according to stipulation, with his son to Constantinople. Abdallah endeavoured to conciliate his conqueror by presents; but they were returned, with a letter, menacing extermination to

his race, and ruin to his country. Again he tried to find favour, by messages and rich gifts, in the eyes of the Pacha and his son Toussoun; again was he repulsed in haughty scorn, and commanded to yield obedience to the mandate from Cairo. Abdallah then buckled on his sword, called his chiefs around him, and led them and their followers into the field.

Ibrahim, Mahomed's eldest son, and who, shortly after his arrival in Arabia, was appointed Pacha of three Tails, departed with an army, and disembarked at the Port of Yanbo. The general's forces seem not to have exceeded three thousand men. After some partial successes, Ibrahim laid siege to El Rass; but, though reinforced by fresh supplies, he wasted time, and every effort on his part was unavailing. Abdallah's courage, however, was short-lived, for notwithstanding that he could have driven the Turks in ignominious flight from the country, his craven spirit condescended to negotiate with the invaders. His terms were rejected, and the siege pressed forward. But Ibrahim, after nearly four months' attempt, and a frightful loss of men, was obliged to desist and depart. Better success awaited him in other quarters: El Kabrah, Anahse, Boureydeh, Chakrah, and Doramah, fell successively into his power, and he laid siege to Derayeh, the Wahab's capital. Here the Turkish forces were again delayed for nearly three months. But, at length, the place capitu-

lated, and Abdallah, being taken prisoner, was sent to Cairo. There he arrived in November 1818, and had an interview with the Viceroy, and continuing his journey, presented himself finally before the Divan at Constantinople. He was then arrested, bound, carried for three days about the public streets, and beheaded. Thus died the last of the successors of the redoubted Sehood.

Ibrahim Pacha is remembered as the scourge of Arabia, and the curse of Derayeh. Mahomed, in his moment of passion against Abdallah, had threatened to destroy the city, so that one stone should not be left upon another; Ibrahim was the unrelenting executor of his father's menaces. The Wahab capital was entirely destroyed, and the inhabitants thrust forth into the desolate wilderness, to starve and die, or obtain refuge where they best could. The family of Abdallah followed captives in the train of Ibrahim, and the Pacha returned in triumph to the Egyptian metropolis. The greatest joy prevailed among the inhabitants of Cairo, and for seven days subsequently to his arrival, festivities prevailed in every part of the city.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ismael Pacha appointed General of the Army of Nubia and Sennaar —Death of Toussoun Pacha — Ismael's Army — Dongola — the Sheygya—Berber— Shendy— Nimir Malek—The White River— Dissensions in Sennaar—Submission of King Mahomed—Rebels impaled—Turks excite the Disgust of the People of Sennaar— The Cruelty of the Turks to the Negroes of the White River—Sennaar ruined—Negro Population driven to Syene—Epidemic in the Turkish Army—Ismael's Fears—Joined by Ibrahim Pacha—Their Progress—Fazogeh—Cruel Death of Ismael—Reflections.

Mahomed Ali had now a short interval of peace, which he employed most usefully in effecting improvements. These improvements will be given in due time; for the present, we will confine ourselves to the course of his martial achievements. In order to ensure his own independence, Mahomed Ali, on principle, could never allow of an independent power in anything like approximation to himself. It might become an instrument in the hands of the Sultan; it might work him much mischief on its own independent score; at all events, such a thing was not to be endured.

He, therefore, determined on the conquest of Nubia and Sennaar. For this purpose, Ismael Pacha, the Viceroy's youngest son, was appointed general. This nomination must be explained by mentioning the death of Toussoun in Lower Egypt. From being a hardy soldier, he had sunk into the lowest debauchery, and died an early victim to his excesses. Some assert that he was poisoned by a favourite Georgian slave.

Ismael's army consisted of nearly four thousand men, fifteen hundred horse, besides about a thousand Arab auxiliaries. His train of artillery numbered twelve pieces. His army was of the oddest compound; a more motley group was never before visible, not even in the ranks of the old Moorish invaders of Spain, which, in the graphic language of Mr. Southey, were

> "Syrian, Moor, Saracen, Greek Renegade,
> Persian, and Copt, and Tartar."

The leader was only twenty-two years of age, and as raw as any recruit in the service of the field. The expedition, however, was undertaken, and was successful, though it cost Ismael his life.

In the autumn of 1810, Ismael passed with his forces the second cataract of the Nile, and took possession of Dongola without opposition. He next acted against the Sheygya, a bold, independent race of Arabs, who were the dread of the whole country between the Cataracts and Sennaar.

Their custom was to attack caravans, and take the inhabitants of the country into slavery. They were as intrepid as the Norman pirates are represented to have been, for they were gay in the moment of danger, and sang songs of gladness while engaged in the conflict. When called upon by the young Pacha to yield, they laughed him to scorn; but, after two severe encounters, their numbers were broken, and their forces dispersed; they were overcome, and their country was subjugated.

Ismael next proceeded to Berber, which he reached through the desert, with his cavalry only. The infantry followed slowly and in detachments. At Berber Ismael's army recruited its strength, and rested two months. This delay was necessary, for Ismael wisely determined to wait for his boats and artillery; at the same time he treated for the submission of the Malek of Shendy, by name Nimir. This chief yielded to the Turkish Pacha with the greatest reluctance; he would have resisted, but resistance was in vain. On the 9th of May, 1821, Ismael Pacha entered the city of Shendy. Here the chief of Sheygya, who, with fifty of his followers, had taken refuge at the court of Nimir Malek, proffered his services to the Viceroy's son, and, from an active foe, became one of the most faithful adherents of the Egyptian Viceroy. Ismael remained only five days at Shendy, and then proceeded towards the White River. There they encamped, rested themselves, and continued

on to Sennaar. The Civil dissensions to which this country was a prey, placed it, without any effort on his part, in Ismael Pacha's hands; for the rightful king Mahomed had been dethroned, and cast into prison by two brothers, Hassan Regeb, and Adlân. Regeb, desirous of an unpartitioned kingdom, slew his brother; but on news of the approach of the Egyptian army, betook himself to a precipitate flight. The rightful king was liberated, came forth to meet the invaders, and yielded his possessions into their hands, holding himself as the mere fiduciary of the Sublime Porte. Ismael received the king in his tent; when the monarch made over the country to Sultan Mahomed, swearing fealty to him, as a faithful vassal. Ismael gave him robes of honour, conferred on him the title of Sheik, and promised him protection and support. He sent a detachment of five hundred men after the surviving rebel, seized him and his partisans, and impaled the latter, keeping their leader close prisoner: though, after a time, and with the consent of the sons of Adlân, he was set at liberty. The act of impalement, which was a sight wholly new to the simple people of Sennaar, had the effect of creating an insurmountable dislike against the Turks. This, however, was partly excited by the want of faith manifested towards the harmless negroes of the White River, who, after they had yielded to the Mussulman commander, (one of Ismael's lieute-

nants) were seized, bound hand and foot, without any regard to sex or age, and dragged in the most brutal manner to Sennaar, the capital. These poor wretches were afterwards sent home by the young Pacha; and this act his eulogizers, after the usual fashion of oriental hyperbolism, have been pleased to extol as a grand piece of generosity on the young man's part!

Generosity has not, however, by any means been the boon of the Viceroyalty of Egypt to Sennaar. The country was a thriving, flourishing, happy region, but Ismael's approach had all the deadly effects of the samiel of the desert. Thistles and brushwood grow where once were vegetation, and the harvest. The best of the inhabitants of the country have been driven northwards, to serve as soldiers in the ranks of Mahomed Ali. They were taken to Assuan in herds; when there, the healthy countrymen were forced away from their weeping wives, and clinging children, and put into unwholesome barracks, where numbers fell victims to plague, pestilence, and famine!

The thirst of conquest in the Viceroy of Egypt was still unappeased: he sent a body of men under Mahomed Bey, his son-in-law, to take possession of Kordofan. The country submitted, and the same atrocities were committed on the people as had already attended the victorious arms of Ismael in Sennaar. Herds of slaves were driven into Egypt: they, whose strength failed them, lay down

on the road side and died, in the wild attitude of despair: and of those who were so fortunate as to reach the point of destination, the men were disposed in barracks, and the women, taken down to Cairo, were sold in the public slave market for a depreciated sum, in consequence of the superabundance of captives. From Kordofan, Mahomed Ali had the design of penetrating into Darfour; but his conquests were suddenly interrupted by the insurgent Greeks of the Morea, towards whom he was compelled to turn his attention.

Retribution, however, was at hand, for Turkish cruelty against the negroes of the White River. Ismael and his officers were lavish in their praises of the delicious temperature of the climate of Sennaar, when an epidemic disease burst out, and swept away, in a few days, more than two-thirds of his army. The commander was in consternation; for he had heard that Mahomed Bey had been discomfited in Kordofan, and that a reinforcement, destined for himself, under Ibrahim, his elder brother, had been compelled to make hasty retreat from Dongola. The inhabitants of the city of Sennaar had circulated these rumours to daunt the spirits of Ismael's soldiers, and to excite the courage of their own followers. They partially succeeded: individuals came pouring into the city from all parts of the country, in order to make an effective attack on the Turks. Ismael felt fully his own incapacity of even self-defence, for of his remain-

ing force, every man was enfeebled by disease, and he expected nothing but annihilation, when he was surprised in his tent by the arrival of Ibrahim. Fresh hopes revived the enfeebled numbers of Ismael Pacha, though their sufferings had not yet terminated, owing to the obstinate refusal of the natives to render any assistance.

In December, the two brother Pachas of Egypt commenced an expedition along the left bank of the Blue River. In a few days they separated; Ismael keeping near the river, and Ibrahim holding to the westward. The latter had twelve hundred men under his command; the former fifteen hundred, while a like number had been left for garrison at Sennaar. They penetrated the wild and extensive forests, and passing Querebyn, they attacked the wild negroes beyond that tributary province of Sennaar. From thence to Fazoglh, was the next point of destination, and at this spot, after great pains on the Pacha's part to discover mines of gold, orders were given for retreat. The news was hailed with joyful acclamations by the troops.

Ismael got back, in safety, as far as Shendy. Here he encamped, and was imprudent enough to go to a village at a small distance, with a few followers, for the purpose of spending the night in merriment at the prospect of so soon revisiting Cairo. Malek Nimir (otherwise Tiger), whom we have already mentioned, tracked the young

prince to his lair, and in the dead of night set fire to the house. Escape for the company was impossible, for the native chief had with him a numerous party, and they did not suffer any one, save the prince's physician, to pass forth. Thus ended most miserably the earthly career of Ismael Pacha, the subjugator of provinces, which no man had ever traversed,—which had existed unscathed by even the Persian scymitar.

Torments awaited the poor physician who had escaped the fate of Ismael his master. Nimir Malek had his teeth pulled out, and then he was put to death. It appears, that he was taken prisoner purposely to be made to undergo the tooth-extracting operation. The teeth were distributed amongst the most considerable of the chiefs of the country, and carried always suspended in a small bag from the neck, as a potent and infallible charm.

Ibrahim Pacha returned safely to Cairo.

The troubles of Greece had now broken out, and afforded sufficient scope for the thoughts of the Viceroy. Yet his behaviour towards the Greeks in Egypt, was very different from that of his son Ibrahim in the Morea. While the Pacha of Acre was destroying the church of Mount Carmel, and the Christians of Syria and of Cyprus were

persecuted by fines and confiscations, by torture and imprisonment, and the streets of Stamboul, of Smyrna, and many of the islands of the Archipelago, were bathed in the blood of butchered victims, the Viceroy of Egypt not only preserved tranquillity amongst his people, but treated the Franks, the Levantines, and the members of the Greek Church, with the greatest leniency. Let this one act be told in favour of the man against whose account so many misdeeds and atrocities have been but too justly noted down. The transactions of the Greek insurrection, and the share which the Pacha Mahomed has had in the exploits of the Turks in the Morea, are of too recent a date, and too memorable in their nature, to require comment in these pages. Had Mr. Webster, however, marked them down more minutely, as doubtless he would have done, whenever sufficient leisure had been afforded him, the reasonings of so just an observer could not have failed to be highly interesting. The outline, however, which he has given of the character and progress in life of Mahomed Ali, will, it is hoped, be found sufficient that the reader may be enabled to form an estimate of a man, in every way so extraordinary; one who, to use a favourite expression amongst the Moorish historians of Spain, has so amply vindicated for himself the title of "the Lord of Fortune"—*Dueño de la Fortuna.*

Of the formation of Mahomed's army, and of

his manifold improvements in Egypt, Mr. Webster has himself, shortly, spoken in another part of these volumes. My wish, therefore, is only to say a few words on the Pacha's present situation in regard to the Sublime Porte. The part, which he took in the war against Greece, was assuredly dictated by policy; it was to conciliate his master, extend his own power, enrich his own coffers, and strike a fear of his name into the breast of every Mussulman. The Divan of Constantinople has tacitly acknowledged his influence, and left him in quiet possession of his viceregal throne: and as the fate of Turkey has been sealed, by the recent and humiliating peace between herself and Russia, what has Egypt to fear at the hands of Turkey? Nothing. That country is now manifestly under the influence of Russia. It is hardly to be supposed that England and France would allow either the Ottoman or the Russian to act inimically against Mahomed Ali, for as Turkey is too much crippled in her resources to pay even the necessary subsidy to the Emperor Nicholas, by so much the more forcible is the argument against her capability, *per se*, of working even simple annoyance to the refractory Viceroy of Egypt. If Turkey, therefore, act at all, it will reasonably be supposed she does so at the instigation of Russia, and it is to be hoped that England and France will concert together some measure of contravention. Egypt is as valuable now to France, as it

was during the period of the invasion in 1799, viz. for the supply of what is termed colonial produce. But there was yet another object which operated on the mind of Napoleon, during his memorable expedition to the East: the possession of Egypt would have enabled him to strike a decided blow against our Anglo-Oriental commerce. M. Klaproth, in his *Tableau Historique du Caucase*, is of opinion that this is not feasible; Colonel Evans, again, and Chevalier Gamba, the French Consul at Tiflis, are confident that the thing can be accomplished in many ways. If this be the case, the most obvious, the most safe, and the most practicable road to India, is by Egypt. The policy of England, therefore, is to conciliate the Pacha of Egypt. This was difficult in the time of Bonaparte, mainly through our own supineness. Let us be timely wise, by reflecting on past reverses.

The newspapers have, lately, made mention of a *House of Commons*, which the Pacha has established at Cairo; and one of them pleasantly observed, that it should not like to be in a refractory majority. However that be, the Pacha is undoubtedly acting wisely. Children have sometimes mistaken shadow for substance: savages will give their golden ornaments in return for simple gewgaws and nursery toys; and the natives of Egypt will be certainly deceived by the semblance of liberty. When pure, unalloyed despotism has

existed for ages, sudden liberty is the most dangerous boon which can be bestowed upon the people. No individual can, on emerging from a lengthened state of total darkness, gaze on the noon-day sun: food must be sparingly administered to a man, who has not been able for a long time to gratify the cravings of his hunger. The sycophant and the slave have proverbially made the most tyrannical masters; and men over whom a galling tyranny has been long exercised, on the slightest removal of their chains, burst through all remaining bonds against free action, and break out into absolute licentiousness. Of this nature have ever been the tumults in the east; such was the nature of the feats committed by the gang under Masaniello the fisherman; and such the outrages of Jack Cade's mob, whose word was, "Up Fish-street! down Saint Magnus' Corner! kill and knock down! throw them into the Thames!" "A people, under a yoke," says Harrington, "which they have lost all hopes of breaking, are of a broken, a slavish, and pusillanimous spirit. A people broken loose from their antient and accustomed form, and yet unreduced into any other, are of a wild, a giddy spirit; and, as the politician saith, like some bird or beast, which, having been bred in a lease or chain, and gotten loose, can neither prey for itself, nor hath any body to feed it, till, as commonly comes to pass, it be taken up by the remainder of the broken chain or lease, and tied

so much the shorter." (p. 602. Harrington's Works.) Liberty, after all, is but a term of relative significance. What the purest form of liberty may be, is another, and a widely different question.

Like all young governors, Mahomed Ali is not only a favourer of monopolies, but is himself the great monopolist of Egypt. This, in the nineteenth century, is a great error; though, in former times, when commerce was in its infancy, and the expenses attendant on traffick were of prodigious magnitude, monopoly was the grand fountain of riches. Wherever monopoly has been the characteristic of the age, (*exceptio non facit regulam*, i. e. the existing East India Company, which, *in the present day*, is, *in its essence*, a political and not a commercial body,) the people have grovelled in the lowest poverty. This principle, however, is so well understood, that it must be speedily made obvious to the apprehension of Mahomed Ali. He who has so far innovated on eastern prejudices as to give his people any thing in the shape of a popular representation, will also, right soon, be made alive to the absolute fallacy of what has been considered by eastern legislators a principle of government, that a governor's power depends more on the number of his soldiers than on the immunities and individual industry of his people. But as industry is a corollary to immunity, so immunity is the result of a well defined

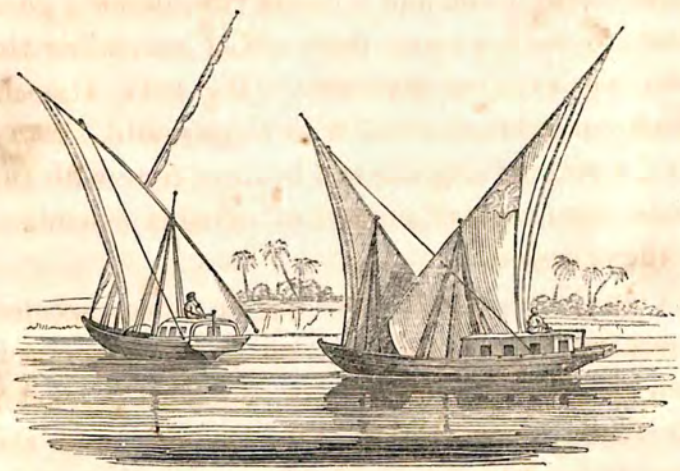
gradation of ranks. "It was not with an eye to this," says Plato, in his Republic, "that we established the city to have any one tribe in it remarkably happy beyond the rest; but that the whole city might be in the happiest condition ****. Do not oblige us to confer such a happiness on our guardians, (to make them exclusively happy): for we know, too, how to array the husbandmen in rich and costly robes, and to enjoin them to cultivate the ground only with a view to pleasure; and, in like manner, those who make earthenware, to lie at their ease by the fire, to drink and feast, neglecting the wheel, and working only so much as they incline: and we know how to confer a felicity of this nature on every individual, in order to render the whole state happy: but do not advise us to act after this manner; since, if we obey you, neither would the husbandman really be a husbandman, nor the potter be a potter; nor would any other really be of any of those professions of which the city is composed. But, as to others, it is less matter; for when shoemakers become bad, and are degenerate, and profess to be shoemakers when they are not, no great mischief happens to the state: but when the guardians of the law and of the state are not so in reality, but only in appearance, you see how they entirely destroy the whole constitution, if they alone shall have the privilege of an affluent and happy life." (p. 136-7, Spens' Translation.)

The caution of Machiavel, however, is that of an old and experienced politician: "Mankind being naturally averse to any alteration in their laws and customs, care should be taken that innovation should retain as much as possible the resemblance, at least, of their antient constitution." Mahomed Ali seems to be acting, and has always acted, upon this principle.—EDITOR.

RARY
OF THE
BRITISH SOCIETY

CHAPTER IX.

Leaving Cairo for Upper Egypt—Saccara—Arab Christening—Minieh—Siout—Account of the Discovery of Ezra's Hebrew Manuscript, by Mr. S.—Cotton Manufactory at Siout—Effect of the Climate on Machinery—Excavations near Siout—Cemetery—Sale of a Young Slave—El Arabat—Ruins—Gournah.



On Sunday, the 24th, we left Cairo with three camels' loads of provisions, on a journey into Upper Egypt. The day was fine, and the Nile glittering in the sun. Towards evening we walked

along the sands. Fellahs were at labour in the rich fields adjacent, the river lay an unruffled mirror of the cloudless sky above it, when, on a slight breath of wind rising, we suddenly heard the people of the boat shouting and giving orders. They had just time to furl the great sail, when the wind came on, shaking the palms and rolling clouds of dust along.

On Monday we got to Saccara at 10 A.M., and went up to the village, where we met Georgio, a Greek, employed in excavating. He accompanied us to Mr. Caviglia's house, near the Colossus. In the evening we were hailed by a shouting from the village. A villager had just been blessed with a son, and it being considered a good omen to have a name from a boat ascending the Nile, we were to give one. We gave Hassan, which was acknowledged with shouts, and, shortly after, a sort of singing and beating time with the hands, from a great number of persons assembled on the occasion.

The Nile—that river which once seemed almost fabulous, produced no great impression upon us, by its beauty or adjacent scenery. The Rhine, the Rhone, the Danube, and the Dnieper, seen in succession, had created too extravagant expectations of the stream, which was to surpass them all. But this feeling of partial disappointment, vanishes before the unqualified gratification experienced, on reflecting that the

river before you has been the wonder of the mighty ones of yore, of the Pharaohs and Cæsars. In such a moment you seem to overstep the limits of destiny and to be communing with past ages—not, as on the Tiber, with ages that have acquired renown from authentic history, and where the certainty of facts fetters the imagination, and reduces things to the level of common life, but with dynasties that preceded history, or despised written records, and transmitted their glories to posterity by visible and imperishable memorials. The reflections, therefore, to which this country gives rise, differ much from those excited by visiting Italy—they are mixed with a kind of awe —they relate to objects almost unknown, and pass naturally into the infinite. The delight with which the traveller looks upon the Nile is truly great. Much of the country is waste—endless plains of sand stretch round it, and it owes its social existence to the overflows of the Nile, which created Egypt, and still shields it from the encroachments of a relentless enemy.

Our excursion to Upper Egypt proved to be a most prosperous and interesting journey. By the great success of a new instrument, we made sketches of all the principal remains. Daily we rejoiced that the political clouds at Constantinople did not prevent our pursuing our journey. Europeans judge harshly of the Turks, and hence, under exciting circumstances, believe that the laws

of hospitality must be violated by them, as they would be in more civilized countries. The best praise of the Turks may be found in the following facts, namely, that since we had set foot on their territory, all the perils incidental to European travelling had given way to the most unhoped-for kindness and cordiality—unhoped-for, because we arrived from a christian country, and on the very day of our landing in the Turkish capital, there came a fatal echo from Navarino, spreading terror through all the west, and setting every one on calculations, as to the chances of escape which his friend, might have, before the rage of an infuriated mob. All this while, we were living quietly at Constantinople, or, from a want of confidence in the allies, were alarmed only lest they, by new injuries, might exasperate the people to madness. The spirit of the treaty of alliance is fanaticism—its provisions violate the law of nations—and, but for the dignified moderation of those against whom it is framed, it might have led to deplorable events. Of this measure, posterity can have but one opinion. The false lustre of the Greek name must die away in its own ashes—the film of religious blindness will, in the end, be removed,—and the philosophical historian will only have before him the long decided question of right, as pronounced against the interference with Naples, and the occupation of Spain.

Egypt is full of wonders and charms for the

traveller. There he finds a state of society totally different in government, religion and popular manners, from his own. He is no longer occupied with those slighter shades, which mark the Englishman from the Italian, the Frenchman, or the German—distinctions which are often pretended to have been remarked when not observed, and still oftener observed, when not worth remarking. Here the difference is that between night and day; and its effects are the same. The gloom of barbarism and tyranny leaves man, in this country, to grope his way through life, without sufficient light for laying hold of the bounties by which he is surrounded. One hand, more dexterous than the rest, grasps all, gathers the fruits of the earth, and leaves a pittance, only that the soil may again have tillers. What misery is not endured by the oppressed! what tyranny is not exercised to maintain the oppression! When we see Egypt and England, and remark in one, a wretchedness commensurate with the ignorance and despotism under which it groans, and in the other, a happiness corresponding with its knowledge and freedom, how can it be doubted that these are respectively the causes and effects? or, as a darker tyranny and grosser ignorance would in Egypt produce a still deeper misery, how can we doubt that social happiness would be advanced in Britain, by a firmer establishment of liberty, a wider dissemination of knowledge; by the removal of

antient errors in the constitution; and by clearing off the rust which adheres to the iron frame-work of feudalism.

With regard to Egyptian antiquities, Italy furnishes nothing worthy of mention, compared with them, in extent, variety, or preservation. The single temple of Carnac could contain within its circuit the antiquities of Italy, Colosseum and all. We do not there go to examine foundations, to trace the indistinct lines which mark the walls of a temple, or a bath. The magnificence of antient Egypt is almost untarnished: or, if a column have fallen in one place, or the desert rolled its relentless tide in another, the spectator is the more struck, being reminded by this very decay that he treads among ruins, and not among the temples of an existing religion.

On Tuesday we saw a troop going along the bank. They were soldiers, several on horseback in front, and women closing the cavalcade.

On Wednesday, the 27th, a pyramid about two or three miles distant on the west bank, came in sight. We met a boat, full of black women, going to Cairo.—On Thursday, we had a good wind, and got to Golosne, and on Friday to Minieh, where we had letters to Dr. Cellestino Cani, an Italian physician, residing there. The village is small, with an immense number of tombs, covering many times the space itself occupies. Dr. Cani accompanied us to some excavations in the neighbour-

hood. These, however, we found of no interest. On returning through a village, we entered a sugar manufactory. The cane is pressed between two wooden rollers four times; then the juice is boiled two or three times, and the sugar formed. The sheik came in, and accompanied us to the boat, sending a loaf of sugar down at the same time. He pressed us to dinner, and to stay a day.

On Saturday, the 20th of March, we passed Ashmounein, but, the wind being favourable, did not stop. On Sunday, the contrary winds detained us all day, but on Monday a favourable breeze brought us to Siout, where we found Mr. S., who had left Cairo the evening before us. He spent the evening with us, and mentioned his project of going by Sinai to Jerusalem. The very antient manuscript of the Kute, said to be in the hand-writing of Ezra, he had discovered in a synagogue at old Cairo, two days previously to his departure, and after four weeks' search. The manuscript is represented as being very fine, two feet four inches broad, and from one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet long. The old patriarch cautioned him against any attempt to take it down from the press, as none had hitherto done so without descending the steps either blind or lame. Yet this patriarch was the least superstitious among the Jews of Cairo: he gave the caution with extreme seriousness.

On Tuesday we went up to Siout, which is half a mile from the Nile. We there delivered a letter to Abdellmalak Nasralla el Jelab, one of the merchants who trade in articles from Abyssinia, as slaves, &c. &c. He accompanied us to the cotton manufactory, where the machinery appeared to be English. It was established some six years ago, and gives employment to eight hundred men and boys, who earn ten, fifteen, twenty, or thirty paras, and sometimes three piastres. Little boys of seven or eight, were seen at all parts of the process. The Arab boys are singularly active and intelligent looking. They work with an air of sharpness, which is quite remarkable—a sort of style and flourish, which shews a full comprehension and mastery of what they are about. They appear much quicker than English boys of the same age. Young girls were once tried in the factory work, but were found to be of no service. The manager, and sub-manager, accompanied us round with great politeness. They were playing at backgammon when we arrived, and immediately threw up their game to accompany us. Cotton factories are by no means uncommon in Egypt. But the climate of the country seems to militate against the successful introduction of machinery. The imperceptible and penetrating dust, the effect of the Kamseen winds, which no foresight can obviate, insinuates itself into the machinery, impedes its motion, and, in conjunction

with the heat, which warps and splits the woodwork, soon renders useless the most perfect machinery that can be fixed. The dryness of the atmosphere weakens the strength of the cotton, and causes the threads to snap. This, added to forced and ill-paid labour, when there is no ambition for success, precludes all competition.

Near Siout are some antient excavations (the Lycopolis), which we visited. They are on the side of a high rocky hill, where ranges of tombs extend all along, and up the rocks, to the length of a mile. There is an immense door of entry, with hieroglyphics at the sides. The tombs in the floor are twelve or fifteen feet deep. Half one side of the hall is covered by a representation of warriors, apparently going forth to battle. From these hills there is a fine view of Siout. The town is surrounded by sandhills. Half a mile from the town to the left is a cemetery, which we visited. It is very large, and half a mile in length. There are multitudes of small domes, with courts round them, generally in this style—the courts have at the top a border of small pinnacles, which, by their multitude, produce a good effect. Some are rudely painted in red or black, but the greater part in white. They are mostly built of unburnt brick, which is occasionally left of its original colour. The burial ground is interspersed with sycamores and acacias, with here and there a palm-tree.

We returned to the town by a different road, and found a number of idlers assembled in groups. So indolent are these people, that while the barber was operating upon us, two persons came in at different times for the looking glass. This having been handed to them, they sat down, looked at their turbans, twirled their mustachios, lolled about, taking a few whiffs of their pipe, and then rose, returned the large octagonal glass, saluted, and retired.

We were amused by a scene of a young slave being examined by four Italian doctors. He was a black, and stood up eating a sugar-cane, while they were touching every part of his person, to discover if he were perfectly sound. His age was five or six years, and while they were, one after the other, pulling his under lip, and lifting the upper, he continued in apparent indifference, sucking his sugar-cane.

Our intention was to have drawn one hundred dollars of Abdellmalak, but though he is one of the principal merchants at Siout, the capital of Upper Egypt, he was unable to raise that sum. He even assured us, that it was with difficulty that he had raised the seventy, and requested that he might have notice a day or two before our return, in order to get ready what additional money we might want. The exactions of the Pacha, and his system of monopoly, have reduced Egypt to great misery.

In passing the gate, we saw negro soldiers drilling, according to the European system. They had a very military air, and went through the manual exercise with great spirit. We set sail at sun-rise, and on Wednesday, the 6th of September, at three A. M., we lay to for want of wind.

Next morning we again set out, and had a good wind all day. We passed Gous at half past three P. M., and on Thursday stopped at mid-day at Akmin, a large place. Between Akmin and Girgeh, towards evening, we saw, lying on a sand-bank in the sun, ten crocodiles, one of them large, the others small. As we approached, they gradually one by one slunk into the water. We arrived at Girgeh a little after sunset On the following morning, Friday, after having seen the town, church, &c., we started for El Arabat, or Abydos, at ten, and arrived there at a quarter to one. It is a small village, at the edge of the desert, two miles from the mountains, which rise behind it to a height of four hundred feet, and form a semicircle, in which, immediately behind the village of El Arabat, and only separated by a line of palms, is the portion of the antient Abydos, now covered with the sands, which come down to the plains.

We first saw the ruins of a small temple, the door-way of which was of red granite, deeply hieroglyphed, and broken off, at seven feet above the sand. There are hieroglyphics only on the two sides

facing the entrance, and the left side on entering. Corresponding, at a distance of nine feet, three or four other pieces remain broken. Entering between these, at forty paces onward, are similar remains of black-coloured granite, and also figures. On each side of these are chambers, which are seven paces by eight or ten, filling up the breadth of the temple. Within the gate, therefore, there was a court forty paces long, and, according to remains, seen in another part, of like width. In a line with the gateways, and thirty paces from the second, is a marble-cased chamber, six paces wide; the whole length is therefore seventy paces.

We employed Arabs to uncover the tablet of kings, on the left hand chamber of the smaller temple. The tablet is of white stone, with figures at the end in red, yellow, and blue. It is uncovered for examination, and then re-covered in order to prevent its further mutilation. Three sitting figures are on the left hand, holding sceptres; behind them is a standing figure—the colours, red, blue, and yellow, as in the tablet. This tablet, which was discovered by Mr. Bankes, is considered of great importance with regard to the chronology of Egyptian history. The Arabs were half a day in clearing the sand from a tablet not fifteen feet long, and no more than six feet deep. They work with their hands only, having no spades. After one has scraped his basket full of sand, he tosses it to another, who carries

it off. This small temple presents only a few walls, from which, however, with a little trouble, the plan might be accurately made. In fact plans of this and the greater temple were said to have been made by Mr. Bankes. The body is built of calcareous stone, but black and red granite have been judiciously employed in its decoration. The great temple is at a distance of three hundred and fifty paces, and also stands on the margin of the sands. It appears like a low terrace, floored with immense stones, stretching over the summit of the lofty undulations of the desert. On entering the interior through a narrow space, still open, below the entablature, we saw three long ranges of columns, buried to half way up the capitals. On the other side of a wall, which runs parallel to these, are two other similar ranges. An examination of the exterior shews that there were at least twelve in every line, so that the whole must have amounted to sixty. Ten columns may still be counted in some of the ranges, and there can be no doubt that, at least, fifty of the pillars remain entire. They are very large, measuring at least twelve feet in circumference at the top. The walls, the entablatures, the capitals, and the roofs, are covered with figures and hieroglyphics, some cut into the stone, and some in relief, presenting frequent repetitions of the same names and objects. All are in perfect preservation. Attached, lengthwise, to the body

of the temple, is a series of arches, on a lower level, the roofs of which form the segment of a circle, but are not constructed according to the general method of the arch. These roofs are sculptured all over, and the walls have been covered with figures. If these may be judged of from what have been brought to light by a Catholic priest of Girgeh, they are of very elegant workmanship. On the opposite side to that on which these arched chambers are, and about three or four hundred feet distant, are some ruins, belonging evidently to the same structure; probably the gateway, or entrance to the court. At the south-east angle is another large structure, which does not seem to stand symmetrically with the other parts of the building, but still may have belonged to the temple. There are evidently several epochs in the building. The wall mentioned above is manifestly older than the ranges of pillars. The style and state of the hieroglyphics prove this—with the additional circumstance, that the layers of stones are not on the same level with those of the entablatures of the columns, as would have been the case were they of the same date. It is a vast edifice, with great labour in the detail, and well deserves to be excavated. Yet this can hardly be hoped for, as there is no motive for an enterprize of such magnitude, excepting a disinterested love of the arts. Every tomb in the neighbourhood is ransacked — the bones, skulls,

and vestments of the dead are strown along the desert; and we saw, still busy in violating the abodes of the dead, men whose master was then lying lifeless, perhaps a victim to his persevering avarice. This activity, however, has left the temple untouched.

To the right, on the west of the small temple, is a great space occupied by tombs, generally of unburnt brick. The excavations are very large.

We spent the night at El Arabat, in a very small room, with which another, having no door, communicated, serving as a stable for asses, which kept up a constant noise during the night. The Arab to whom the hut belonged, spoke of thieves in the neighbourhood, but we had not the misfortune to obtain any closer knowledge of them.

On Saturday, after returning to the ruins for two hours, we proceeded to a village at two hours and a quarter distance, to which we had ordered the boat the day before. It is some miles above Girgeh, and near a wood of low mimosa trees, which formed a pleasing relief after the monotony of the palm-tree.

There are two turns in the river between Girgeh and Ghenney, one of which is very difficult to pass. A large Turkish boat, filled with soldiers, being unable to double the point, was driven aground; and our own could scarcely keep her way. In bearing up, she came against the other; the sails, stretched by a strong wind, were dragged

along the point of the yard-arm, and we expected every moment to see them torn to pieces. The Turks stood motionless, without turning it aside; but, fortunately, no accident occurred, except that our flag was torn away, and cast in shreds upon the river; an omen which, to those who believe in omens, would appear by no means favourable, under the critical circumstances of the times.—We arrived at the point opposite Dendera about mid-day. Asses, and a crowd of Arabs, started up as if by enchantment; and, being provided with a dinner, which consisted of fowls, rice, &c., we set out, and on the way met Mr. S., returning in ecstasy from the ruins. The temple of Dendera is about a mile from the Nile, and we first visited the gate on the left, about five hundred yards from the great temple. It is a massive structure, almost entire, covered with ranges of hieroglyphics and figures on both sides, and in the passage. It consists of a single, lofty door-way, with piers, ornamented at the top with winged globes, and surmounted by an entablature, according to the Egyptian style. Between this and the temple, and as far on the other side of it, are hills of ruins, foundations of mud-houses, and tombs heaped up with the drift of the desert. Passing along the side of these, and having in front a small ruin, consisting of five columns, we came first in sight of the gate leading to the great temple—then of a temple to its right—and, at length, at the extre-

mity of a passage, between two mountains of ruins, appeared the great temple itself, with its hieroglyphics, vast columns, with fine capitals, &c. &c. The faces of most of the figures in the temple, as also many of the figures themselves, are destroyed.

The fine view of the interior is impeded by the thick forest of columns, all of which are covered with sculptures. There is an inner room, nearly filled with sand, and three other rooms beyond, a staircase, and an upper story of rooms. On the top of the temple is a deserted village, commanding a view of the Nile, the hills, desert, &c. &c. On the outside of the temple are some lions' heads, finely executed; behind is a small structure, and, at some distance, a gateway, like that seen in front. After going to the small temple, we returned to our boat, and set sail at six P. M., without stopping at Ghenney.

On Monday the 11th, the wind failed us, and after pulling some time, we were preparing, about eleven, to go ashore, when, to our great joy, a breeze sprang up, and we were enabled to proceed. The mountains below which Thebes is situated, were now pointed out in the distance. They gradually rose before us, and we soon approached the antient capital of Egypt. Before sunset we could distinguish to the left the vast mass of the ruins of Carnac. In half an hour we arrived at Gournah. Here we found Mr. Desparre, who had arrived in the forenoon, and, in ten minutes,

Mr. S., whom we had passed two miles below, also came up. We were immediately surrounded by Arabs, offering little pieces of antiquities, such as small papyri, coins, figures, and trinkets. After the first bustle of arrival had subsided, we met, and recounted our adventures to each other. All were delighted with the voyage, which to all had been most fortunate. None, however, spoke of their country without a wish to return. The ruins of Egypt incomparably surpassed those of Italy; travelling, instead of being a toil, was a delight; yet, when arrived at Thebes, and on the point of next day beholding its stupendous remains, the mind of each seemed to dwell less on this pleasure, granted to one in a million, than on the hope of soon sharing with millions the pleasure of being at home.

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

CHAPTER X.

Temple of Luxor—The Colossi—Tombs—Cure for the Bite of a Serpent—Assuan—The Use of Iron known to the Antient Egyptians—The Nilometer—Festival of Rhamadan—Philae—Temple—Boys crossing the River—Ruins and Views of Philae—Cataracts of the Nile.

On Tuesday we went out at sunrise, and saw the columns of the temple of Luxor, on the river side, about two miles before us. The stupendous temple of Carnac still continued to attract the eye

to the left, and we felt that we were at Thebes, with the remnants of the most antient glory known to the world lying before us. On ascending the bank we discovered, about half a mile to the left, two Colossi, with the Memnonium to their right, and the temple of Medinet Abou above, a little further on. A lofty mountain shuts in the view, and exhibits along its sides numberless excavated tombs. In some parts, the sands have reached to a great height up the precipices at its base. Between this mountain on the west, and the line of the desert on the opposite side of the river, extends a plain of green fields, the cultivators of which, except those who live among the columns of the temple of Luxor, either from choice or necessity, inhabit tombs. This is the site of Thebes, and these are the modern citizens.

In going, the Colossi were always in view. About four hundred yards from the bank is a temple, with ten pillars in front, various rooms, and ruins of a gateway. It is surrounded by ruins of brick houses. The Memnonium of itself forms a great ruin. The immense statue is twenty-three feet across the shoulder, is broken at the breast, and an attempt has been made to saw the head asunder. Near it are some fine ruins, and at a distance of four hundred yards are the Colossi. The base is thirty-four feet by nineteen; generally, six feet are above ground, and in one part nine. The height of the Colossi, exclusive of the base, is forty-

seven feet, making the whole height fifty-three feet. The breadth of the body is nineteen feet, and the thickness from the back of the seat to the front of the legs, twenty-four feet. The height, from the base to the bend of the arm, is twenty-four feet. There are two of the same size. The faces of both are completely destroyed; the legs of one are nearly broken away; the bodies and arms are much mutilated; but the general form remains. They are most stupendous monuments. A little behind them is the ruin of another, and further on several remains of colossal statues. Near this spot we pitched our tent, and rested for some hours, dined, sketched, &c. &c. The Arab mounted to the shoulder of one of the Colossi. The legs of one (which had been broken, rebuilt, the head replaced, &c.) are all written over with names, many of which are in Greek. This is the statue which gave sounds. We next proceeded to Medinet Abou, which appears a village at the first approach. The temple is immense. We went to see a small temple behind the hill, inclosed by a thick brick wall, and afterwards passed to the tombs of Gournah, where the remaining mouths of the tombs are used as houses, forming in fact the village. The inhabitants are not numerous, and are employed in excavating for antiquities, or in the cultivation of the neighbouring fields. They have but an indifferent character. We visited one of the tombs, which, after a descent of some steps, opened into a

large court, perhaps one hundred feet each way. On each side were small chambers, covered with hieroglyphics. As we were going in, at the great entrance in front, we heard moans, which, instead of being those of the genius of the place, displeased at our intrusion, proceeded from some camels kept in an inner chamber, concealed, lest they should be pressed into the service of the governor of the district. We passed into a large hall, covered with hieroglyphics, the door leading from which to the next, where the camels were, was partly closed with stones. Clambering over these, and carrying our lights, we passed through the groaning animals, each of which held out its long neck to us, as we went by. We kept on for half an hour, along passages, turning to the right and to the left. At times we met with figures: two in relief, size four feet, were at one corner, sculptured on crosses. The passages were encumbered with rubbish, &c. When we entered some small rooms at the sides, multitudes of bats flocked out, with a noise like that of carriages rolling over head, or of quick machinery. They flocked in myriads, some against our faces, so that it required precaution to save the light from being extinguished. We next descended a long spacious staircase, at the foot of which was another, leading to deeper excavations. We had before passed one, and, by throwing burning paper down, we saw that at the bottom was a door. After continuing for some time to the right,

we arrived at the last chamber containing a pedestal, like the rest of the excavation, without sarcophagus. All that we saw was the 'darkness visible' of those regions, their mutilated figures, illegible histories, heaps of dust and rubbish, and here and there straw and ashes, the traces of former travellers, who had for an instant illuminated these long and silent galleries. The air in them is heated and confined, so that we heard with pleasure the moaning of the camels announcing our near return to light. We had no time to descend into the other tombs, visited only by Picinini, an Italian, who has been many years in Egypt. He gave it as his opinion that the Egyptians were acquainted with the use of iron, and he shewed us two implements, one a knife, a foot long, another a crooked blade, found by himself.

Not having met Mr. Wilkinson at Thebes, and as it would be better to take the higher part of the country first, on account of the heat, we had determined only to glance at Thebes, and proceed on our way to Assuan. Accordingly, we passed down to Luxor, intending to finish our inspection on the following day.

On Wednesday, the 13th, we went to the temple of Luxor, which is close to the river, and has very massive columns, terrace, &c. In the temple, and attached to the columns, is a small village. We entered the little courts adjoining to several of the houses, always, however, first asking permission of

the poor inhabitants, out of respect for the females, that they might not be seen unveiled. We were introduced with the announcement *Turco, Turco.* To the east, are two ranges of larger columns, and beyond is the propyleon, an immense mass. Two colossal statues were seated at the gate, and through it were two obelisks very perfect, one a little lower than the other. Half a mile beyond Luxor, is the temple of Carnac, the most stupendous monument in Egypt, the finest ruin in the world.

On going to the left we saw a second gate, to which, as to the other, was an avenue of Sphynxes. Beyond is the great ruin and colonnade; a forest of one hundred and twenty massive columns. To the right is the propyleon, and to the left the obelisks. Of these there were originally four, two of which have fallen. One of those remaining is immense.

We pitched our tent on a slight eminence, near to the southern gateway, from which the whole field of ruins was seen to great advantage. Here we remained three or four hours.

To the left of the propyleon of the temple of Luxor, in the ruins, a school is kept, where we found some dozen scholars reading from sheets of tin. There were two masters, and the number of scholars in all amounted to thirty. The principal master, a blind old man, answered all our inquiries, and, when we had done, applied for *backshish.*

Returning through the temple of Luxor, we passed a mosque, on the outside of which were thirty people ranged in two lines, and repeating their prayers. After their usual prostration, &c., we heard the long-drawn cry of Allah! sounding among the columns—which had re-echoed other strains, and witnessed the mysteries of other gods.

We set sail an hour before sunset. On the terrace of the temple of Luxor, the governor's tent was pitched. He was on a visit of inspection, and in all probability was inside the mosque, while the others were praying in the sunshine without. We stopped all night, four miles above Luxor, being unable to turn a point, and the wind being too high for pulling. Next morning we had a good wind, and set out before sunrise.

On Thursday, at mid-day, we reached Esneh, a good-sized town, with a temple, the varied columns of which are in fine preservation. It is not large, and is now used as a depôt for cotton. At nine and an half P. M. we arrived at Edfou.

We heard the following account of the bite of a serpent and the cure, from Mahmoud. In his last voyage up the Nile, one of the crew was bitten in the foot by a serpent, and he ran howling to the boat, believing that he must die. The remedy applied was the following: They tied a Spanish dollar upon the wound, and one of the sailors stood over the patient for some time, repeating verses from the Koran. A

cure somewhat similar was resorted to in the case of our reis, who one day complained of his head from exposure to the sun. One of the crew thrust his hand down the reis's back, and pulled and rubbed, as if he were drawing something up. Having done the same with the other hand, he kept a firm hold of the neck with both hands, seeming to have caught something. He then dragged one hand after the other cautiously round the head, till they met in the middle of the brow, and, raising up the skin between them he squeezed it, as if extracting a thorn. By this means the sun which had mischievously entered the body of the reis was caught, and turned out!

Towards sunset, we arrived at the ruin of Koom Ombos, and had just time to glance at it. It is a fine ruin, very picturesque, with sixteen columns standing. We stopt all night above Koom Ombos, and on Saturday the 16th, we started before sunrise. At mid-day we reached Assuan. We cast anchor under a sycamore tree, at the island of Elphantina. On the opposite side, there is a scene of ruins on granite rocks rising from the river. Upon them are rubbish pottery, and ruins of brick-houses rising in fantastical towers. On the bank beside these, are palm trees, behind the palms more ruins, and still further down, with three or four boats behind it, a ruined antient massive mole, is the modern Assuan.

Mr. Wilkinson, seeing our flag, came up to us,

and we delivered our letters to him. He expressed his certainty that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with the use of iron, and he accounted for no iron being found, by the fact that, by the great quantity of nitre in the Egyptian soil, iron would in less than a hundred years be corroded, and reduced to powder, for which reason it would not have been purposely buried—bronze being so much more durable, and more easily wrought. Mr. W. accompanied us to the Nilometer, which is a narrow stair leading to the top of a high terrace, overhanging the river of the south-east end of the island. The stair is now covered two or three feet thick with mud. Two of the gradations are, however, still visible. They are roughly executed, and it is deserving of remark, that, in one of them, the gradation continues over a stone very much broken away, a circumstance which, besides the general appearance, would lead to the conclusion, that the making a nilometer of the stair was an after-thought. There are two Greek inscriptions, one of which is very legible. We walked round the island, saw many ruins, columns, rocks, &c., and went to Assuan, which is a long straggling town, with a small bazaar.—On Sunday the 17th, we set out in search of an unfinished obelisk, but were taken by the guide, about four miles from Assuan, to a red granite column, that mentioned by Belzoni, about five feet or so. Continuing along the desert, we

came to the quarries, where we saw marks of the chisel, and discovered three unfinished red granite baths. Near, is an inscription on a rock, with two cartouches,—may be, four feet square. Beyond it is a mill stone, and soon after a pedestal six feet square. Passing on, among vast masses of granite rocks, we met every where traces of the labour of the antients. Suddenly the Nile came into view, like a lake winding upwards, surrounded by high crumbled dark rocks, along the base of which appeared a ring of green. Here and there were palm trees, and at the right, the ruined temples of Philae. The desert extended like a broad highway, bordered by rocky lines up to the brink of the river. In the island of Philae is a great temple, with an avenue of pillars; also a small square temple. We returned by the common road to Assuan, along which were the remains of a rude brick line of building for miles, and going up the hills. This was probably a raised way for bringing down the blocks of granite to Assuan. We found the obelisk, in search of which we set out, to the east of a great burying ground. It was lying horizontally, and on closer inspection proved to be immense. The width is nine feet, and the length of that part unburied with sand seventy. It is still apparently fixed to the rock. A line has been sawn across, from which it would appear, that it was intended to apply it to some other use, subsequently to the original design.

Mr. Wilkinson pointed out to us among the ruins of Assuan, one which passes under the name of the well of Strabo, who says the sun was there seen vertically, believing Assuan to be in the tropics. This ruin appears like one of the inner rooms of a temple, from the circumstances of its having a small window close to the roof. It communicates with another room, and in the exterior presents nothing worthy of remark.

This was the first day of Rhamadan, but few people seemed disposed to keep it. Only one in our boat had any such intention. Hadgi Ali said, that the prophet had written him an express, excusing him. Mahmoud said, that he never kept it, &c. The same disinclination was evinced by the good people at Assuan, who assigned the following reason,—that, as the new moon had not appeared, they were not sure about the matter.

On Monday the 18th, leaving the greater part of the things in the boat under the charge of Sulyman, we returned to Philae, where we took up our abode in two rooms at the corner of a square temple, which were inhabited by an old woman and her daughter. Before admitting us, she insisted on backshish, unwilling to take our promise of paying on departure. Soon after our arrival, we had a visit from Mr. Desparre, whose boat we had seen in coming up, just after he had passed the cataract. In passing the cataract, his boat dragged in the middle between the two ascents,

and the pullers declared that they would go no farther till paid by the captain of the port, who was with them. After much altercation they continued. The boat was a little damaged, and obliged to stop for repair.

The island of Philae lies nearly north and south. At the north west corner is an obelisk. A little under are fields, interspersed with clumps of palm-trees. Behind, at four hundred yards, are crumbled granite rock, and sand, and a small obelisk, two feet four inches square, and about twenty-two feet high, flat at top, of the same stone as that employed in building. It has a Greek inscription, and, higher up, one in different characters. At this corner is a high terrace, which extends along the greater part of the western side of the island. It may be about two hundred feet long, and thirty feet high, with a colonnade.

The distance from the obelisk to the first projection of the great temple, is three hundred and twenty eight feet. The colonnade goes the principal part of this distance. There has been another obelisk at some distance from the first. Nearly in a line with the standing obelisk, are six small columns. On the pillars are lines of hieroglyphics, and cartouches.

Five feet above these figures are varied capitals, above which heads, as at Dendera, not in deep relief.

To the left of the great colonnade are thirty pillars, standing in a line, with one only interruption. The capitals are varied, and some broken. The unburied height to the capitals is from eight to twelve feet.

On the projecting part of the entablature are two cartouches, thrice repeated, occupying the space of two intercolumniations.

The abacus on the left is not sculptured; next to it, is a repetition of the above. The same cartouches are repeated ten times on the visible part of the first sculptured column at the north end. The head of this colonnade is ten feet. The roof is flat. The back wall is covered with two ranges of reliefs, and hieroglyphics, above which is a series of hawks with folded wings. The reliefs represent offerings. The range of eagles at the top are sculptured only three quarters of the way. From this, on to the south end, the eagles and ornaments are rudely traced in colours.

The wall overhangs the river, and the terrace on which it is built, is washed by the waters of the far spreading Nile during their rise. There is a range of twelve windows along it, looking out upon the opposite shore, of which the bank, left bare by the fall of the Nile, is cultivated. Above, are heaps of granite rocks, in ruined masses, and near the top a ruined house. Lower down are a few houses, round the remains

of a temple, which consist of two columns, an arch, and part of two walls—also a stair near the river, and palm trees.

One-third along the colonnade is a narrow stair down to the river, the steps of which yet remain. On the sixth column is an inscription. Towards the north end of the wall, three crosses are traced, and a Greek inscription. Opposite the colonnade, sixteen columns are standing, only six of which have their capitals complete. There are no hieroglyphics on these or on the back walls. Between them are foundations of brick-houses, masses of fallen entablatures, &c. &c. At the south end of this colonnade, is a cross wall, a cartouche with bird, the same as the others, or nearly so; six repetitions. In front of the middle entrance to the propyleon, are two sitting lions in red granite, mutilated.

A little boy, who had been all day with us, swam over to the village. He had brought a log of wood with him, and when it became time for him to return home, he pulled off his shirt, wrapt it round his head, threw himself on his belly along the log, and, working away, in ten minutes carried himself over, without once wetting his shirt. In an instant he was re-clothed, and running off homewards. — In the forenoon we heard guns, which turned out to be Mr. Desparre firing a salute to us, as the installed governor of the island. We returned it, and in a short time saw him off

for Ebsamboul. The day was quiet and clear: no wind in the forenoon: the Nile lying like a lake. All day we heard the noise of three or four wheels on the opposite bank, drawing up the water for irrigation. The island of Philae, in itself, is one to become a hermit in. It is surrounded by huge rocks on the one hand, by the desert on the other, and the Nile separates it from the little remnant of habitable ground, so high up the country.

Entering by the principal gateway of the large temple, you pass into a court, with a colonnade of ten columns with varied capitals to the right. The same cartouches are on the columns and entablature, as on the propyleon. The back wall is sculptured. There is a range of three small rooms, a small staircase leading to a room occupying the space of the three below, and to the roof of the colonnade. Beyond these three rooms, between the eighth and ninth columns, is the east entrance and a small room. The cartouche as an entablature of the front colonnade before the propyleon.

The west side of the court. Here is a colonnade of seven pillars: beads of Isis; and varied capitals. This belongs to a small temple, the principal entrance to which is through the door, in the middle of the west half of the first propyleon.

On each side of the gateway are doors, leading to stairs, which ascend to the top of the propyleon. In the north end of the court is a second propyleon, similar to the first.

On entering the gateway you come into a portico, consisting of ten columns, ranged along three sides of a small court. The capitals are very fine and varied; painted blue, green, and red. Beyond this is a passage, on the right of which is a small court, having in the corner, the initials R. F. An. 7. These walls, instead of the hieroglyphics, present a curious assemblage of European names, traced by the many, whom martial or literary ambition has led to this picturesque island. Below these the following :—

Longit. depuis Paris - -	30° 16′ 22″
Latitude Boreale - - -	24° 3 45″.

In the north-east angle of this court is a small door, leading to the vaults.

Continuing in a line with the great portico, are three rooms in succession, lighted from the passage, and small holes near the roof. In the last the light only penetrates from the small hole above, and through the door. They are lofty, twenty feet or so, and the last may be about fifteen feet by twelve. Now they are strewn with small stones, and the walls bespattered.

The little temple spoken of to the west of the great court, is entered through the west half of the propyleon. We came to a small portico of four columns.

On the east of the island is a square temple, in a more perfect state of preservation than any

other temple in Egypt. It is said to be of the time of Trajan. Mr. Wilkinson says, that the name of that prince, in hieroglyphics, is on it. This temple is a small square, about fifty feet by thirty-five. Fourteen pillars support an entablature, five on each side, and four at each end. Half up them is a dwarf wall.

Behind the large temple are foundations, &c. A little to the left is a wall, with frieze. On the river side, close behind this, is a gate, which has been of three arches. The middle, or great one, has fallen.

On the north-east of the island is a rock called the "Chair."

We saw many women with rings in their noses, and boys with cord girdles round the middle. Numbers came to see us, swimming on logs of wood, carrying their clothes on the head. There came one in this way, smoking. Four or five women set out together on logs, which is the common way of crossing the river to the island. Women and children are continually asking for backshish. All the younger boys are pot-bellied, with a skin not exactly black, but of a very dark brown.

On Friday, the 22nd, drawing the propyleon. On the right of the great door is a French inscription, stating that a French army, commanded by Napoleon, having landed at Alexandria, had, after the battle of the Pyramids, pursued the Mamlukes

beyond the Cataracts. Various names of French generals and officers follow, and near them is engraved the name of Denon, as also those of a variety of travellers.

In the first court of the temple is a great rock of granite, perhaps twelve feet by ten, covered with hieroglyphics, which were copied by Mr. Wilkinson. He said he was never more disappointed than with regard to them. We saw the portico by moonlight, half lighted, and the dark sanctuaries in the back ground. On Saturday, we were measuring the temple. Over the door, a little to the south of the great propyleon, is an inscription.

Besides the inscription over the entrance; numerous hieroglyphics are at the sides, nearly on the same level. The half to the left of the door, is about fifteen inches shorter than the other. A wall comes upon it, but on cutting out the stone, we found no more hieroglyphics. Part of the one jutting out was, within, unfinished.

Sunday 24th. View from the top of the propyleon. The sun coming over the hills of the crumbled granite. In the quiet of the morning we for the first time heard the sound of the distant cataracts. The island of Philae is picturesque, with its small trees, its rocks, and temple. This island is surrounded by mountains of granite. The river winds calmly among them, and the reflection of the rocks, the ruins, and the palms, forms one of the most picturesque views which we had yet seen

in Africa. The Egyptian hieroglyphic, the Greek inscription, the Christian cross, all have flourished and decayed, and even the Mohammedans, who last occupied it, have left it in a ruinous state. Fragments of ruins and sculpture, cast into the stream; the granite rocks heaped on one another, some of them covered with hieroglyphics, seem like the relics of an earlier world, whose inhabitants have passed away, and left their unknown language upon them. The banks of the river, left dry, are turned into a garden. To the north and east on the edge of the desert, are two villages. The Nile disappears southward to the left, between two hills. We looked for the last time on this scene, the most distant which we were to behold. What vast countries lie beyond, the names of which are still unknown! Nubia and Abyssinia have been explored, but of others no information has been gained, except the rumours, too often confirmed, that such and such a traveller has perished, thus adding to the long list of brave men, who have fallen victims to their ambition.

We quitted Philae in a crazy boat, rowed by two Nubian boys, intending to proceed as far as practicable, and then walk to the cataracts. In rowing down, we were much amused by an extempore song which the boys made upon us and our dresses, loading us with every epithet of extravagant praise, in the hope of being repaid with backshish, at the end of their labour. We

landed a short distance above the cataract, and were conducted by some fourteen or fifteen Arab boys, to see the contrivance for catching fish.

The place was a sort of labyrinth, the entrance of which being stopped, some twenty people went in to catch fish, but could not succeed. These stations are sold for from twenty to forty piastres each. A little further down is the second great rapid, which is more considerable than the first. The reader must not figure to himself the cataracts of the Nile as resembling the falls of Niagara. Those who expect to find a fall of great importance will be much deceived, as there is not a perpendicular descent of ten feet, in any part of them. The river is intersected for three or four miles, by an immense number of small islands, formed by granite rocks, and the stream, thus impeded, naturally forms itself into strong currents, and in several places the water decends an inclined plane with great rapidity. This occurring in three or four instances, forms what is called by the sounding title of the cataracts of the Nile.

It was a fine sight to see the boys plunging down. Eight of them at once plunged from above the commencement of the cataract, disappeared, and rose. This sufficiently proves how small the cataracts are, when, in the end of March, a time at which the fall is near its highest, boys may thus pass down without danger.

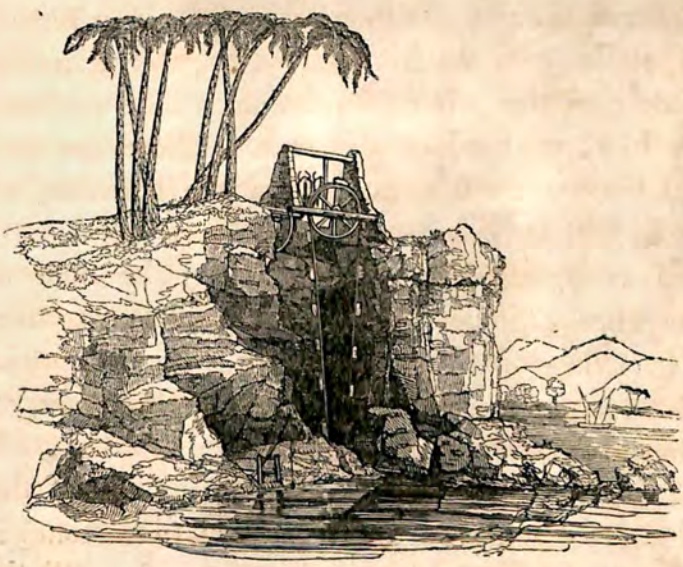
Towards evening we returned to Assuan, the

antient Syene, and went over to the island of Elphantina. The ruins of this island are now but few. The principal, are a granite gateway, a statue, and a few sand-stone columns, of indifferent workmanship. We descended the river about two leagues below Assuan: on the west bank, we found the remains of a terrace, about one hundred and twenty feet long, which may have been used as a landing place, but there was nothing in the character of the ruins, to indicate precisely to what purpose they could have been formerly applied. In the evening we arrived at Koum Ombos.

ROYAL ASIAT

CHAPTER XI.

Koum Ombos—Ruins—Gebel el Silcily—Edfou—Tombs at El Hegges —Esneh — Thebes—Memnonium — Carnac— Ghenny — Dendera — Siout—Til El—Armarne — Excavations—Eraramoum — Sugar Manufactory—Sheik-a-badeh—Return to Cairo.



MACHINE FOR IRRIGATING THE LAND.

On Wednesday the 27th, we landed at Koum Ombos, which overhangs the river on the east

bank. The steep bank is overspread with ruins, rolled down to the water's edge,—huge masses, parts of columns, entablatures, &c. On the south height is a propyleon, ruined at the top; on the north, rising from extensive foundations, is a single capital, with the head of Isis. The terrace rose about fifty feet above the water. It is now a flat, covered with sand. On this, about eighty paces from the bank, is the great portico and temple, the most picturesque among the Egyptian ruins,—for this reason, that it has not withstood the ravages of time. Entablatures and pillars are thrown down, and encumber the angles of the portico. Out of eighteen columns thirteen are entire, but buried in sand to near the height of the gateway in the middle of the intercolumniation. The columns are in three lines, of six each. There are cartouches on entablatures above the entrance, or inner wall, of the great portico.

There is a Greek inscription over the door of the inner chamber: the one of the left entrance, that of the right corresponding, has no inscription. This temple was built by one of the Ptolomies, as appears from the inscriptions.

On a small doorway of stone, to the east of the temple, behind the great tower, is a cartouche. The architrave of this contains the prefix of Tothmos III.

While we were remaining at Koum Ombos, our stock of bread being exhausted, we sent our boat-

From a Sketch by W.H. Newnham Esqr. Publ.d by Colburn & Bentley London 1830. Engraved by J. Clark.

TEMPLE OF KOOM-OMBOS.

men to a small village to purchase some, but they returned without any, the inhabitants refusing to sell, but allowing them to eat as much as they pleased, gratis. We therefore set off to Gebel el Silcily. Here are antient and extensive quarries, from which the materials for the construction of many of the temples were taken. On the eastern side may be traced wheel tracks, in the roads leading to the excavations; and the western bank contains many small shrines, which have a picturesque appearance. Descending near the lower part of Gebel el Silcily, on the western bank of the river, there is an excavated temple, at the north end of which are several statues in relief, and a small sanctuary. At the south end on the right, is a curious piece of sculpture—a representation of a procession. Some prisoners or malefactors precede the king, he being seated on a throne, which is supported on men's shoulders. It is remarkable, that, before and behind him, there are persons carrying fans, like those which are used to shade the head of the Pope.—These interesting remains, in the midst of picturesque scenery, would have rewarded the most patient research, but, anxious to proceed to Thebes, we departed, and on the following day arrived at Edfou. We pitched our tent at some distance, for the purpose of taking a sketch, and, while thus occupied, a Turkish soldier entered the tent, devoured a dinner, stole a penknife, begged some sugar and backshish, and departed. Having

finished the view, we descended to Eleytheyes, which is better known among the Arabs as El Hegges. The tombs are about half a mile from the shore: the subjects sculptured and painted on the walls, represent the scenes of agriculture; the reapers are seen gathering in their harvest, the gleaners following them. The ploughs are of the same form as those used at the present day in Egypt, as well as in Poland and Sicily.

Monday, April 1st.—Tomb at El Hegges. High on the rock, about a mile distant beyond the old town, cut in the rock and arched, at the end in the recess, are three sitting figures, of the size of life. On the left hand, the labours of husbandry are represented in five lines of pictures, occupying the whole side. On the opposite wall is a banquet, two ranges of men, eight in each arbour, and below, two ranges of women, all sitting, smelling flowers.

In the plain, a quarter of a mile to the north, is a small building, surrounded by a wall.

There is another temple, with six columns and entablature, standing among the ruins of other temples. The columns are about three feet in diameter. There is the foundation of a square court, beside those in front; and here, the bases of six columns are seen, and three sides of the court traceable.

We arrived at Esneh over night, and on Tuesday, April 2nd, wishing to repair part of our drawing

machinery, we went in search of a carpenter. After much difficulty we found one, but he had no plane, his stock of implements consisting of an axe and a saw. The temple of this place has twenty-four columns, completely covered with hieroglyphics, as are also the walls. The part standing is the great portico of the temple, having walls on three sides. In the centre of the back wall is the usual door, leading to the inner chambers of the building. It is now built up. Above this door, in a circle, is the figure of a deity.

In the afternoon we passed over to a temple on the opposite side. This temple is small, being about fifty-two feet in front, and about forty-four feet deep. It has a double portico of eight columns, and is surrounded by a wall.—On our return to Esneh, we went up to see the people keeping Rhamadan at night. We found the public place crowded. Music, and men recounting histories, formed the amusement of groups, who had first been regaled at the coffee and eating houses. Over night we went to Erment, distant half a mile from the river, where we remained the following day. There is a small ruin before coming to the larger one, having many column shafts. This ruin consists of the remains of a Roman building, eighty-two feet wide, and one hundred and sixty-two feet long. The northern part of the walls is still standing. They were built of stones, taken from some Egyptian building, as may be seen

from the hieroglyphics. The capitals, which are Corinthian, and ill executed, are of sand-stone. Some of the Roman Arabesque painting still remains on the walls. The Egyptian temple which lies a short distance farther on, is Ptolomaic, as may be easily discovered from the columns, which are between seven and eight diameters in height. The sanctuary serves now as a pigeon-house!

At sunset we left for Thebes, which we reached at midnight. On the following morning we visited a temple near the water. It stands a short distance up the shore to the left, and, to all appearance, is amongst the oldest remains in Thebes. It is surrounded by heaps of ruins of crude brick houses, and, as it rises above their crumbling remains, with the perforated mountains of Biban-el-Melouk at the back, and the few palms, and acacia trees in the foreground, presents a very picturesque aspect. Nine columns of its portico only remain standing. The greater part of the roof is destroyed, and its cells are half filled up with sand. On leaving these ruins, those of the whole of Thebes, on the western side of the Nile, lay before us. The mountains on our right hand had been excavated for sepulchres, which sepulchres had been re-opened and dug out, and Arab boys and girls, half naked, were to be seen issuing from them, offering antiquities for sale.

We next proceeded to the Memnonium. It forms three portions of ruins. 1st. The pro-

pyleon, entirely ruinous on the east side, and fallen to within thirty feet, on the other side. Battle pieces are represented on it: A hero in his car, with bent bow, galloping over men, chariots, &c.; his two horses springing. Above is a repetition of the same attitudes. At some distance runs a wall, of which, to the left, only the foundations remain, but to the right the whole height, and half the thickness are still preserved. The great Colossus was placed within three feet of this wall to the left of the entrance, and facing the propyleon. The pedestal is still in its original position; part of it is, however, sawed away, and the body of the figure is overturned on its back and broken into two great masses through the middle; the head, breast, and arms forming one fragment. Many fragments are scattered round, among which are seen a foot and an arm. Across the line of the forehead is a deep cut, said to have been sawn by the French. The outside is, in some parts perfectly polished, and the carving on the head, arms, seat, &c., and the cartouches, in part remain. Without having seen it, this prodigious monument can hardly be conceived. It is without any equal as an instance of what human power can perform. The breadth of the shoulders is twenty-three feet—of the foot, across the toes, five feet—of the hand, four feet six inches—of the pedestal, seventeen feet four inches—and the length remaining is twenty-eight feet six inches.

On the wall to the right is a battle piece--a hero in his car, with bow drawn—horses springing over each other –charioteers in confusion—horses tumbling, and men smitten by arrows, and falling. Further on is a sea, painted blue, into which men and horses are rushing. It is filled with these, and with chariots. On its shore is a numerous army, with spears, some of whom are employed in pulling out the people from the sea. This sea is here perpendicular on the wall; lower down, it takes a horizontal direction, and runs along the whole length of the wall. It is painted blue, rippled, and filled with overturned chariots, men, and horses. About three feet below this is a parallel line of water, like the other, about a foot broad, rippled; but only a small part of the blue colouring remains. Along the surface of this is a line of eleven chariots, rushing on, three men in each, one holding a shield. Also, above the level of the principal figure, are two lines of chariots.

On the wall, to the left of the great colonnade, inside the temple, is another battle piece. A hero in his car, with bow bent, is drawn by two horses rushing over dead bodies, broken cars, horses, &c. Numbers are flying and looking back. One has a bow and arrow in his hands, another has a shield. This latter has been wounded by an arrow. Beyond are the high walls of a city. Below is the gate, and men from thence shooting arrows, hurling stones, and using spears against the assail-

ants. These last are seen tumbling down headlong. Others of them are mounting a long scaling ladder, protected by shields.

After our visit to the Memnonium, we proceeded to Medinet Abou. It resembles a ruined village, and is half a mile south of the Memnonium. In front is a court formed by a low wall. There are two columns before the gate of the propyleon, which is small, without sculpture, except at the gate in the middle of it.

That this propyleon is built of stones, taken from an older building, is evident, from the number of hieroglyphics, and figures on the inner side, an observation which applies equally to the wall in front of it. Passing through the front gateway, we came to a low small court, formed by a dwarf wall, with broken columns.

Going on one hundred and fifty feet, and a little to the left, through ruined brick houses, we came to a great propyleon. We entered a court between this and the other propyleon, having a portico or piazza on each side. Both propyleons are ruined at the top, only two-thirds of the height remaining. On the inner wall, to the left of this portico, is a series of battles represented. A great figure is presenting bound captives to a deity. On turning the corner, were ranges of captives. The above mentioned figure is again represented sitting on a car, receiving three heaps of hands. The inside of the court is covered with broken

small columns, fourteen of which are still standing. In the court has formerly been a christian convent. Outside, to the north, is a battle, in chariots, with arrows, clubs, &c. Below, are represented captives, with arms bound, and a rope round the neck, led by Egyptians. Next is a large figure shooting an arrow. He is on foot, his car waiting behind him. A little further on he is represented hunting the lion.

At a short distance behind the hill, which is to the right on going to Medinet Abou, is a temple surrounded by a wall of unburnt brick to which there is a stone entrance. A high rock overlooks the temple. In the court are two columns, with Isis heads. On Monday, the 15th, we went to the west, under the precipices, where are two arches, constructed without knowledge of the keystone. The stones are laid more and more over each other, and hollowed out so as to form a semicircle. In front of the arch, to the right, is a small granite gateway, formed of three masses, and sculptured. Upon the left is another similar. The arch, entered by passing these two gates, may be ten feet wide and twenty-five long. At the end is a smaller arch, entering about twelve feet, leading to a small chamber, ten feet by five, and having on each side doors, opening into pits, about six feet by three. The roofs of these are formed into gothic arches, by stones placed against each other. The walls of the arches are covered

with hieroglyphics in low relief, which, like those on the outer walls, are of very beautiful execution.

The cartouche, on the other arch, which is greater, has, with the accompanying hieroglyphics, been defaced.

Biban-el-Melouk lies behind the first range of mountains in the western part of Thebes; and is about three quarters of an hour's ride from the bank of the river. On entering the valley nothing strikes the traveller but a few small excavated entrances at the foot of the mountain, upon arriving at the mouths of which, the immense chambers to which these passages lead him, covered as they are with paintings of the religious ceremonies, warlike implements, and household utensils, of the antient Egyptians, invite his study.—We then proceeded to Luxor. Here are two obelisks of granite, twenty-two feet distant. Close to the gate are two Colossi, also granite, buried up to half way between the elbow and shoulder. The faces are mutilated, but the ears and head dress of the older one are nearly perfect. The propyleon is preserved up to the cornice, which is almost all removed. On the obelisk side, it is covered with representations of fights.

On the south propyleon is represented a hero in his car, with bow drawn, riding over crowds in front. Beyond the fortification are chariots, rushing in at both entrances. High up the propyleon, are two ranges of chariots, and one range below.

On entering the gate, there are houses, pigeon-cots, &c., and to the left, a school, a mosque with a minaret, and a tomb, with a dome, converted into a fountain for ablutions. In front is a great colonnade, consisting of two rows of seven columns each, roughly carved in slightly indented relief, with hieroglyphics, topped by lotus leaves.

Beyond these great columns is a court one hundred and thirteen feet wide, having double rows of columns on either side. On the left, twenty-one columns remain, and on the right sixteen, buried more than half way up the shafts. The space between the columns, is now partly open, and partly occupied by hovels and pigeon-houses.

At the further end is a triple range of columns, eight on each line, built up to the capitals with crude brick cabins. Above, pigeon-houses are built.

The whole of the twenty-four columns are still standing in the three first lines, six only of the fourth remain to the east.

Beyond, this is a cross, with an arched niche; the arch of later construction, and attributed to the Romans. On the left are the foundations of three chambers, and beyond the niche is a square room of thirty-five feet, with four small columns, and on the right an oblong room with three columns. Above are offerings, and two children, who are presented to the tutelary god of the temple.

The niche alluded to, has been formed by

shutting the door leading to the square chamber. The lines of the architraves are still to be seen. Opposite this door is that leading to the hall, which is an oblong chamber, about eighteen feet four inches, by eleven feet seven inches, surrounded, on three sides, by a passage eight feet ten inches wide.

The interior of the temple is filled with sand and dirt, to within eight feet of the roof.

The whole length of the temple, from the end nearest the water, to the wall of the court, is one hundred and ninety-four feet. Fifty feet from the temple is the river, along which runs, in an uneven line, a terrace of large stones, four hundred and fifty-eight feet long, and continued into the water for one hundred and forty-eight feet, by a brick pier sixteen feet wide. Beyond this, about sixty feet in the water, other foundations are still seen, so that the terrace and pier, in all, extended at least six hundred and sixty feet.

Carnac.—On the south side of the entrance is the following inscription:

REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE,

An. XIII.

GEOGRAPHIE DES MONUMENS.

	Temples.	Longitude.	Latitude Bor.
Thebes	Dendera . .	30° 21′ 0″	26° 10′ 0″
	Carnac . .	30° 20′ 4″	25° 44′ 15″
	Luxor . .	30° 19′ 16″	25° 42′ 5″

Esneh . .	30° 14′ 12″	25° 19′ 39″
Edfou . .	30° 33′ 4″	25° 0′ 0″
Ombos . .	30° 38′ 39″	24° 28′ 0″
Syene . . .	30° 34′ 19″	24° 8′ 6″
Isle Phyli .	30° 33′ 46″	24 3′ 45″

The breadth of the gateway is twenty-two feet six inches; the thickness of the propyleon is forty-one feet; the height, standing and visible, not counting the accumulation of rubbish, seventy-four feet; and there may be reckoned at least twenty-six feet accumulated; for this reason, that one building, the top of which is on a level with the head of the accumulation, measures eighteen feet six inches to the commencement of its rubbish, which rises to half the height of the door.

The edifice in the north-west angle of the court, is heaped up on the roof with masses of brick building. It has been partly excavated, and three oblong chambers opened.

In front of the first propyleon, is a second gallery, in a confused declivity of ruins. Square stones are heaped together, having hieroglyphics. Between these, there appeared to have been two lines of large isolated columns. One is yet entire. The stones composing five more are stretched out in lines, preserving, though separated, something of the form of columns.

Near the end is a temple, eighty-eight feet in front, west and east, and one hundred and eighty-

four feet long. Round the three sides is a portico of eight piers, inclusive of the corner one, and four crossways. In front of each of these is a colossal figure, as at the Memnomium. They are almost all buried; five have been partly laid open by excavations.

We left Carnac on Monday evening.

Up the hill is a tomb, with representations of a cameleopard, panther, baboon, monkey, gazelle, ostrich, &c.: higher up, another tomb; a long room eighteen feet by thirty-five, divided by four piers: a number of figures carrying sacks; naked, except a small white bandage round the middle: other figures of animals, soldiers, negroes, harpers, &c. Lower down is the tomb of the elephant, a gallery sixty feet by eight.

On Friday morning we arrived at Goos, distant a mile from Thebes, a scattered town on a heap of mud, where are two minarets, and various tombs with domes. In a large space, stand the remains of a gateway, of which nineteen feet are above ground. On the cornice is a Greek inscription.

Next morning, Saturday, we arrived at Ghenny, which is famous for its manufactory of pottery called Bardaks, made of porous clay, and in great request as water coolers. This town derives some importance from its situation at the commencement of the route to Cosseir, so that the greater part of the commerce carried on at that port with

Egypt passes through Ghenny. It is also a place of assemblage for the African Hadgis on their road to Mecca. Here the privileged dancers (Almas) abound, and, by their orange-dyed faces and hideous figures, are peculiarly frightful and disgusting to an European observer. They are covered with trinkets of brass and silver, tastefully arranged, and wear numerous glass bead necklaces. Having made some purchases of Bardaks, &c. we went on to Dendera, where the ruins are of great interest and celebrity. The scene of the ruins is about half an hour from the river. The town has been built partly of burnt and partly of unburnt brick, on mounds formed by previous ruins. Part of the remaining village is on the top of the temple itself. The portico of this temple is one of the most splendid effects of Egyptian architecture, although undoubtedly of late date. It is of twenty-four columns, with Isis-headed capitals, and its walls, roof, and door-way are most elaborately wrought, both internally and externally. This temple is the most perfect and imposing of the remains of the country.

Quitting Dendera, we proceeded down the river to How: at this place, rather more than a mile from the river, are the remains of a small temple. The hieroglyphics are wretchedly executed. It is nearly buried in rubbish, and the only satisfaction of the traveller is to have ascertained it not worth

seeing. One small chamber, fifteen feet, is half filled with earth; it contains an interesting judgment scene. Above are two rows of sitting figures, ten in each. On the other side of the recess, nearly the same scene is represented, with twenty figures also above.

There are said to be other rooms communicating with this; but they are now filled up.

On Saturday forenoon we reached Siout. We met a merchant there, to whom we had letters. He informed us of a measure adopted by Scheriff Bey. This officer had obliged several merchants, and our informant among others, to take government cotton cloths, and to pay ready money for them; cloths, too, which no one was likely to purchase. This is the acme of tyranny.

On Tuesday, we arrived at Til-el-Armarna. A little to the south are extensive ruins, and foundations of crude brick. A brick propyleon remains, half the height. It may be twenty feet thick, and both parts one hundred and fifty feet long. There are the remains of two others in the same line, and also the site of the temple visible. All these form an enclosure, which may be two hundred feet wide by six hundred long. All around are brick foundations.

Behind the tombs in the mountains are some quarries of alabaster, which, with other reasons,

have induced Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Burton to give the city in the plain the name of Alabastron, supposing it to be the site of that ancient town. Mr. Wilkinson was the first to discover the tombs, and he, with Mr. Burton, discovered the city and quarries.

Two miles from this, on a mountain, are tombs, one of which we visited. It had three chambers. Over the door on the side, and in five other instances, in the first chamber, was a sun with rays, ending in hands. On the architrave are two of these hands, presenting the keys of the Nile to a man and woman standing. Before them are offerings. The first chamber has had four pillars, two of which remain. This chamber has been used as a Christian church, the large block for the altar still remaining, as also a smaller one for holy water,—a cross, a saint with halo, &c.

On the right of the door is represented an adoration of the sun: figures kneeling with uplifted hands. On the south wall is a warrior in a chariot. Behind him are smaller chariots: here a stair choked up, which leads below. On the left of the door are pillars, on the top of which are serpents with globes on their heads. A large sun with rays fills the middle space of this temple, where are many worshippers bending forwards, as also others who are approaching the temple. Beyond, are two unfinished rooms, the first with four rudely

cut pillars, and a small oblong excavation in the middle of this room.

The place called Sheik-said, which we next visited, contains some curious excavated tombs. Among the sculptures the Hippopotamus was to be seen, and this is one of the very few instances in which it occurs.— On our arrival at Eraramoun, we inspected the sugar manufactory belonging to the Pacha of Egypt, which was originally established by an Englishman, but is now conducted by an Italian. Quantities of sugar candy, which is in great request among the Turks, is manufactured, and also rum, some of which we tasted, and found to be of excellent quality. About an hour's ride from this place is Tounah-el-Gebel, where there is some curious sculpture of the same description as that in the tombs of Alabastron.—A short distance south of Eraramoun, formerly stood a very fine Egyptian portico, which has lately been destroyed by the Turks. They have there a manufactory for saltpetre, which is obtained by the evaporation of water from large basins.—Proceeding down the river we arrived at Sheik-a-badi, said to be the site of Antinopolis. Among the extensive ruins at this place, are the remains of a Roman Circus, about sixty paces wide, and three hundred long. The seats are destroyed, but the line of the Meta is preserved. Some of the entrances to the circus

are still remaining; and further to the north in ruins, surrounded by a wall, are some small columns, about two feet in diameter, with Egyptian bases. There are also some clustered Corinthian columns, which shew evident marks of the decline of the art. Near the village are several shafts of granite columns, and close by are the remains of a Roman brick building, which the Arabs call El Hamam, the Bath.—Quitting Sheik-a-badi, we continued our route down the river, till we came to the tombs of Beni Hassan. These tombs contain some of the most interesting paintings which are to be seen between this place and Thebes. The representations in the paintings of these tombs consist of drawings descriptive of the chase, wrestling, dancing, and the various trades, and domestic pursuits of the ancient Egyptians. Some of the tombs are yet unfinished, but well merit inspection. Between this place and Cairo, with the exception of the Pyramidal tomb near Riggeh, about sixty miles before arriving at Cairo, known as Haram-el-Kedah, or the false Pyramid, there is little or nothing to detain the traveller.

On our return to Cairo, we found that no firman had been received from Constantinople for our intended journey into Palestine, though application had been made to the Dutch ambassador, through the kindness of Mr. Schutz. We found Lord —— and Major F., who were waiting in

Cairo for the same purpose as ourselves, to visit Palestine; but, having no firman, and hearing that the plague was then raging at Jerusalem, they were induced to defer their journey, till political affairs should assume a more settled aspect, and the plague be in some degree abated. Thus were we detained in Cairo for more than six weeks, without any appearance of the practicability of our design. Six or seven other English travellers were at the same time in that city, some of whom had visited Mount Sinai; and, from their description, from the interest attached to those different parts of the desert of Arabia Petræa, so celebrated in the Exodus, and from the facility afforded us of accomplishing the tour, the whole of which lay within the Pachalic of Egypt, we resolved to undertake the journey, which might easily be accomplished in twenty-five days; hoping that on our return affairs would admit of proceeding with our original intention.

Accordingly we paid a visit to the Superior of the Greek Convent, to obtain a letter of introduction to the Monks of the Convent at Mount Sinai, and also by his means were enabled to enter into an arrangement with the heads of three tribes of Bedouins, through whose districts the route of our journey lay. On our hiring two dromedaries of each tribe, they were willing to accompany us; and, having provided ourselves with skins, for carrying water, a light tent, and a few provisions,

a little rice, flour, coffee, and biscuits, we were prepared for setting out; but delayed so doing for a day or two, in order to witness a concert of Arabic Music, given by an English traveller, now resident in Cairo.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

CHAPTER XVI.

Concert at Cairo—Departure for Mount Sinai—The Springs of Moses—Wady-Feran—Arab Welcome—Quarrel between Two Arabs—The Convent—Chapel of St. Helena—Plain below Horeb—Inscriptions near Sarabeit-El-Khaddam—Hot Winds.

THE writings of Moore, and other poets, have made various allusions to the "Date Season" in

the East. The manner of gathering this fruit, not being generally known to English readers, a representation of it is here given.

We had been induced to defer our departure, in order to be present at a Turkish concert, given by Mr. ——. On going there, after sunset, we found a divan of from twenty-five to thirty people, Turks and Europeans. After an hour's smoking, the company removed to the garden, where many other Turks were dispersed in groups. The garden was illuminated with coloured lamps. The music sounded strangely indeed to an European ear; yet no amateur in the pit of San Carlo ever experienced greater delight than did the Arabs, while listening to the wild plaintive strains of their national music, which, in the peculiar character of its melody, may be in some degree compared with the Irish. Such is the fondness of the Arabs for this music, that sometimes their pipes fell neglected to the ground, or were suffered to go out, while they sat wrapt in extacy, exclaiming Mashallahtaib-taib! and many remained till morning. As usual among the Turks, supper was eaten with the fingers. A sheep had been roasted entire for the occasion.

On the following morning we started at ten A. M., and, after a journey of only two hours and a half, pitched our tents near a small tree, or bush, under

which the Arabs rested. We were now in the desert.

After two days travelling in the desert, we arrived at Suez, a town which presents nothing remarkable in external appearance. It is enclosed by a wall, and the whole of its defences would be rendered useless, by the occupation of a mound to the left of the town. A few small ships were lying in its harbour, the shoals and shallows not admitting the entrance of vessels of large burden. The town presents a deplorable appearance, and must be a most wretched residence, there being no fresh water. We sent our dromedaries round to the head of the gulf, and applied to the consular agent there, a Copt, to get us a boat, that we might proceed by sea, as far as Aina Moussa, (Moses'springs), where we should rejoin our caravan in the evening. The rascal, as soon as he discovered that we had sent on our dromedaries, took advantage of the circumstance to make us pay more than thrice the sum which would have been demanded under ordinary circumstances. There was no remedy, and we were obliged to comply with his extortion after a very slight reduction. Towards sunset we landed, opposite Aina Moussa, and in endeavouring to make a collection of shells, in which the shores of the Red Sea abound, night overtook us, and the rapid rise of the tide, which swept off the collections we had heaped up in different parts, warned us to retreat. After a painful walk of more

than an hour, through the heated and yielding sand, to our great satisfaction we discovered the glare of a fire which guided us to the spot selected by our Arabs, for passing the night. A few scattered palms, some slight remains of ruins, and a spring which, whatever it may have been, is now most unpalatable, pointed this out as the former resting place of caravans.

A little before sunrise we continued our route, and about ten, arrived at Wady Gharandel, having passed on the way a spot called *Amara*, supposed by some to be the "Marah," of the following passage in Exodus:—

"And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore, the name of it was called Marah."

It may, however, more reasonably be conjectured, that Wady Gharandel is the "Marah" of Scripture, since at Amara there are no traces of water remaining, while at Wady Gharandel there is still some to be found; and we can bear full testimony to its undiminished bitterness.

On the 12th, we proceeded at five to the 'written mountains,' where there are thousands of inscriptions in various languages, for the most part in unknown characters. A great proportion have the sign of the cross. They are scattered over the rocks on each side, for the space of a mile. Occasionally are figures of camels, which are by some

From a Sketch by W.H.Bowenham, Esqr.
Pubd by Colburn & Bentley, London, 1830.
Engraved by J. Clark.

WADY FARAN.

supposed to have been cut by the Jews in their passage. This may be the case in a few instances, but the prevalence of the cross prevents this holding good generally. They are probably the work of Pilgrims, Jewish and others. The rocks are steep, detached masses. The bed of the valley is sandy, and about a quarter of mile broad. This is the style of the route, all the way from Wady Gharandel.

We set out again at nine A. M., and continued our way through the same kind of scenery till one P. M. This day we had a hot strong wind, which began about noon, and lasted till four. We stopped under the shade of a projecting cliff. Before halting, we passed a little running water, which rose from the sand for a quarter of a mile, and again disappeared.

On entering Wady-Feran, we at first met with tufts of desert grass, then small trees and bushes, and shortly after we heard the bleating of sheep. After passing these, we came to twelve or fifteen dromedaries straying about, then to some palm trees and houses. This first Oasis is followed by a larger. The whole bed of the gorge is filled with palm trees. The scenery is beautiful. Dark peaked mountains rise on either side of the bed of a winter stream, which was dry at the time of our journey. At length, we came to a small rill of water, at which our dromedaries drank, snorting and rubbing their heads. A little higher up this

stream disappeared, winding away among palm trees. We now came to a magnificent view. In front was the Ser-wall, with its many peaks, and nearer, the range of steep rocks which enclose this Oasis. Below were gardens of fruit, and palm trees ranged on each side—on the right, is a high wall of rocks; and the valley winds behind another to the left. Passing up this, among palm trees with dates still green, we came to a small opening surrounded by trees. Here we halted, and were taken by the owner of the spot into his garden hard by, where was a well with excellent water, though rather warm. On our return, we found an assemblage of the inhabitants, sitting round a fire eyeing the preparations. Our Arabs, with the exception of two, went to their respective houses or tents, and we arranged to pay Moussa a visit next evening, intending to spend the day at Wady-Feran. This valley is in itself extremely picturesque. The dark and steep mountains enclosing it, assume a great variety of forms, with the lofty Ser-wall rising over them, and presenting its many pinnacles at every turn. This valley had few, if any equals, along the barren tract which we had followed.

On the 13th, while drawing a view of Wady-Feran, we were visited by numbers of people who came and remained all day gazing at us. At three and a quarter P. M., we left Wady-Feran. It is about two miles in length, and inhabited by

Arabs, who were formerly the slaves of the convent. In two hours we came to the place where we expected to find Moussa's tent, but were informed that he had moved higher up the day before. As we had appointed to visit him, we proceeded, and in less than an hour came in sight of a range of tents. It appeared that preparations had been made for our reception. At Wady-Feran the Arabs had all day wished us to start, telling us that there was a grand fantasia at Moussa's. On our approach the women uttered a shrill cry or quaver, which is the method of welcoming strangers; and it is customary for the latter to acknowledge the greeting by riding up at full gallop- a practice which one of our Arabs, an old man, and the Nestor of the party, thought it incumbent on him to follow. As he gallopped his dromedary along, he made a greater noise than the women had done. They, on seeing his gallantry, did all they could to welcome him. On dismounting, we were greeted by each of the tribe—who, one after the other, came up, laid his hand flat upon ours, and as he withdrew it to his breast gave us his salaam. This some repeated, while children held out their hands, exclaiming 'Salaam!' We were surprised to meet with Moussa's son, whom we had left at Cairo. He came up to us, welcomed us as his friends, and, in an instant, our tent was pitched by the Arabs in the same line with their own. Coffee was then served, according to our

custom, with sugar, of which, too, the Arabs are very fond. In a short time a fat white sheep, led by Mohammed and other children, passed by our tent. It was that destined for the entertainment, and its last groans were soon heard from before Moussa's tent. Then began the bustle of cooking, and, as the sun had set, fires gradually lighted the tented line. They brought us some goat's milk, which we found to be delicious, and we were surprised to see the animals so fat and sleek. In the quiet of evening, we saw the Ser-wall fade and rest on the western horizon. At length, supper was brought, consisting of boiled meat, and a kind of pancakes in a huge wooden basin or tray, in the centre of which was a bowl of soup, made with a sort of cucumber. We set to with our fingers, and, in the mean time, the Arabs at the outside of the tent had ceased talking. On looking out, we saw them seated round a blazing fire, which well displayed the expression of voracious hunger on their countenances. They were served with soup, which they laded out with their hands, and devoured very greedily. After smoking a pipe, they dispersed, and the embers only of the fire remained. Moussa then came to thank us for the honour we had done him in paying him a visit, and hoped that we found the supper to our liking. —We had arranged to return next morning to the common road to Mount Sinai, and to leave the baggage to proceed by a nearer by-path. A fierce

dispute arose between Moussa and a young man, as to whether the dromedary of the latter should carry the tent. The youngster would not yield, though all around seemed against him. He wished to take away his dromedary. The old man entreated and embraced him, Moussa abused him, and, at length, they came to a scuffle, when Moussa knocked off the turban of the other—a great insult. With an expression of ungovernable rage, the young man snatched out his dagger—the bystanders stopped his hand—he struggled, and became more and more furious, his visage glaring with the darkest malignity. His passion being supposed somewhat abated, only two were left to hold his hands, when he suddenly jerked away from them, and, waving his long yatacan, rushed towards Moussa, who, with some others, stood a few yards off. He failed as before, and now all became exasperated against him. They showered on him terms of the vilest contempt, and he became sensible of his horrid conduct. He put on his turban, and was left alone, none fearing his further violence, as the tide of repentance had set in. While he stood apart, leaning on his gun, a female, his wife perhaps, came up, and, when all had deserted him, seized the moment at which advice gently administered is received with emotion. Moussa seemed but little moved by this attempt upon his life.

The encampment which we had thus visited

consisted of about sixteen or eighteen tents, rudely fixed, flat on the roof, and some with cloth on three of the four sides, others only on two. They form merely a shelter from the sun, and are made of coarse brown cloth, supported by four or six poles. Moussa was careful to inform us that their winter tents were greatly superior, and that these were but rags to keep off the sun. Their furniture consists of a mat, a few bowls, jugs and pots, and a small hand-mill. They can change their habitations in an hour. These are the true Bedouins—one of the hordes which roam through the deserts wherever water, grass, and a few bushes can be found, for themselves and their flocks.

By six A. M. we had returned to the road to Sinai. We came in sight of Mount Horeb. In front is a great plain, like a lawn. The mountain appears isolated from the others. The convent is on the left of it, in a hollow between it and another precipitous mountain. We reached the convent before mid-day. The monks appeared above at an opening like that of a warehouse, and sent down a rope; to which we affixed the letter we had from the convent at Cairo. It having been pulled up, read, and approved, our luggage followed it, and a great cable was at length let down for ourselves. The legs of the ascending personage are put into some small rope at the end of the great one, and, taking hold above, he gives the

signal to be drawn up, whereupon he is speedily landed in safety, and welcomed with many a salaam. The method of raising is by a windlass, which is turned by four of the priests. We were shewn up into a corridor with four small rooms along it, and a place at the end for cooking. This part of the convent is reserved for strangers, and is very convenient. The first room is neatly fitted up with divans and carpets. After the usual welcomes and inquiries, the conversation turned on the state of political affairs; and neither the superior, nor he who acted as interpreter, would believe that the Greeks had obtained their liberty, and that the Sultan had yielded. They said that blood, much blood must be spilt before such a consummation could be effected — a conviction which they would not resign even after we had assured them that the ambassadors were recalled, and the treaty of London accepted. The superior of the convent is a man not much beyond the middle age,—seeming from thirty to thirty-five. He has a dark quick eye, a jet black beard, and mustachios, and hair hanging down his back in a long thick lock. He was dressed in a black cap and a black gown, but wore no stockings. He would be a handsome man, were not his cheeks hollowed by his mode of life. The interpreter is still more ghastly; and, with his brown and white striped gown and belt, he might be taken, with his conical cap, for a Turkish Derviche. His account of

the convent is, that St. Helena built a chapel on the spot where Moses saw God in the burning bush, and that the body of the church was added by Justinian.

The first thing with which we were presented was a refreshment of aqua-vitæ and fruit. The water from the convent well is delicious. When drawn it is rather warm, but, after exposure to the wind, in earthen jars, it becomes cold. After this repast, we went with the monks to the church, where we found them celebrating mass. Monks were standing at each pillar, and one in the middle, reading. We passed them in order to go to the chapel of St. Helena, which is behind the altar. Before entering, we were requested to take off our shoes. It was the spot from which the voice of God came to Moses, saying, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." All that could be done to testify veneration for this sacred spot has been performed. It is ornamented with many paintings and other gifts presented by the pious; and a silver lamp is constantly burning. The service being over, we were joined by the superior, who took great pains to point out every object worthy of our attention. We returned with him to the high altar, on which are many ornaments of silver. On the roof of a semicircular recess behind is an ancient mosaic. The tomb of St. Catharine, in marble, stands to the right of the altar. This

saint suffered martyrdom at Alexandria, but her body (as the legend relates) was carried by angels to the summit of a mountain near Mount Sinai; and, having been found there in a perfect state three hundred years ago, was removed to its present place of interment.

The body of the church is composed of a principal and two side aisles, separated by ranges of columns, with ancient, unseemly capitals. The floor is of beautiful mosaic marbles; and from the roof is suspended a vast number of lamps and chandeliers, some of great magnificence. The screen is ornamented with gilded columns and pictures; and its richly-worked door presents figures of Christ and Moses. It is a church of much interest, containing a great variety of objects crowded together by the piety of ages.

We next went to the garden, the communication to which is through a long, descending, and dark passage. This garden is rich in fruits of all kinds—peaches, apples, pomegranates, melons, &c. The grapes are uncommonly fine, some of the bunches weighing, we were told, five ocks when ripe. There are various compartments to the garden, communicating with each other by means of rudely-formed stairs. It is watered throughout, and, indeed, owes its existence to the convent well. The superior seeing that we admired the richness of the produce, said, "What is all this without liberty? When a man has liberty, everything

goes well—he can suit his desires to his means, or seek a better for time, by change of scene; but we are here, shut up without hope; at times we cannot even walk in this garden. The Arabs come to us as beggars, asking coffee or grain, and, if we refuse them, they besiege the place, break into the garden, and carry off the fruit." He, at the same time, pointed out a hole in the garden wall, large enough to admit a man. The convent itself is impregnable to the Arabs, but they are ever on the watch with their guns. The monks are thus in a state of perpetual siege. Not long ago one of them received a gun-shot in his leg. Letters have been written on the subject to the convent at Cairo, but without redress. At the time of our visit, the monks had just concluded a truce of thirty days with the Arabs.

In the morning, I asked one of the monks whether they had any manna? "O yes," was the answer, "how many ocks do you want?" He gave me a piece, which he said had been gathered five years ago. Whether genuine or not, it was excellent eating. It is very sweet, not unlike honey. It falls like dew, and is gathered in the morning. Its colour is whitish, and, when exposed to the heat of mid-day, it becomes liquid. Sometimes it does not fall for two years, at others annually.

The mosque and church are within a few feet of each other. Many Arabic, and some Greek in-

scriptions, are on the door of the church. The carved old door of chesnut is cut in several places with crosses. To the left of the inner doors is a small marble fountain of four vases below each other. A silver dove is hovering over the highest, and three are descending from the first, second, and third. A silver cross is attached to the highest. In this fountain is the holy water. The doors are very old and large. On each side of the great aisle are five pillars, with whitened capitals, and Greek crosses. Along the aisle, in a line with the columns, are stalls, fourteen on each side. There are also seats for the bishops and superiors, and reading desks. From the roof are suspended thirty-four lamps and lustres, mostly of silver. Near the screen are two huge candelabras, supported on three lions. From the centre rises an enormous wax candle, six feet high, and four or five inches in diameter, surrounded by twelve lesser luminaries. This is probably an emblem of Christ and the Apostles. The screen is formed of eight gilded columns on a basement, united by pictures, in the Greek style, of Christ, and the Virgin. Over it is a great crucifixion, reaching to the roof. Christ is painted on a gilded cross, highly worked. At his side, in a rich gold frame, is the Virgin. The centre door, which bears the date 1612, reaching half way up the door-way, presents figures of Moses and Aaron, the latter with his rod budding, and a censer. They are

both dressed as Greek bishops, as are also the various figures of Christ. It is gilded all over: small pictures are hung at each pillar. The principal altar is a canopy, supported by four pillars, inlaid with shells and mother of pearl. There are on it six crosses, five crucifixions, eight virgins, six circles, and one dead Christ. The semicircular recess behind is hung round with two dozen small pictures of the Virgin and Christ. The mosaic of the semicircular recess has the appearance of great antiquity. It represents the transfiguration: Christ in the centre in an oval. Each figure has its name. Peter, James, and Moses on the left; John, and Elias, on the right.

We paid to the convent, in all, twenty-two dollars. The Arabs disputed fiercely for an hour, chiefly about the tent. Having supplied ourselves with bread, water, and aqua-vitæ, we set out from the convent at eight, A. M. We crossed over the great plain below Horeb, and entered the pass, and at eleven A. M., we rested under a rock to the right, immediately after quitting the pass. We shewed the Arabs the manna which we had got at the convent. They said it was genuine, and that manna is often found in the morning, below the trees. They boil it with a little water, to divest it of the sand. The sand sinks to the bottom.

We found the Arabs very serviceable. They pitched our tents, made the fires, assisted in cook-

ing, &c. Morning and evening they expect coffee, and at times bread, biscuits, &c. If well treated, they do well. They are full of protestations. Having started at half past three, we halted near some water, at ten minutes after seven. Here we met one of our Arabs, Mohammed, who, wishing to remain in the country, had brought his brother to take his place. He also brought a kid as a present, and with many salaams departed.

On the 21st we set out early in order to see the natural reservoir, where water is found after rain. After clambering up rocks, we came to a turn to the right, which shewed us a single palm, and a wild fig tree. Beside the fig tree was a small basin, about ten feet by half the breadth, formed in the rock, and partly filled with water. On a higher level, a few feet beyond, was a reservoir about twenty feet each way, which was filled with water. A precipice is immediately over it, and on each side, and with the two trees forms a very picturesque appearance. We ate some of the wild figs, which were good, but very small, about the size of a cherry. We did not get off till half past six, and at half past ten we stopped under the shade. We started at a quarter to four, and should have arrived at Sarabeet el Khaddam at half past six, but that we stopped on the road to examine inscriptions.

These inscriptions are found on the rocks to the right, near Sarabeet el Khaddam. The first is by

itself, at a place where, apparently, an attempt has been made to find a mine. The others, with about twenty more, are on some great detached rocks at a turn in the valley. On crossing over, we found the tent pitched up the valley, which lies under Sarabeet.

23rd. We went up early to the stones bearing hieroglyphics, on the top of the hill, about three quarters of an hour's walk. The ascent is steep, and over crags and rocks. We remained till night examining the stones.

To the right is a small valley running up. This we followed till we came to two or three trees of the prickly acacia. Further on were rocks, which we climbed, and at length, under a steep rocky shelve, found a well dried up, and a wooden bowl beside it.

24th. At half-past five we left, and at seven arrived at a well, where we were obliged to stop till a quarter to four. Moussa found a man who procured us fresh rain water, from a secret place in the mountains. We filled our skins. The well is pretty enough. From fifteen to twenty palm-trees are near it. The valley is broad, and the hills low. About eleven, a hot wind came on, and continued to blow till half-past ten at night. We left at a quarter to four, and went on till half-past six; then rested half an hour, and continued on till eleven, stopping in Wady Taib.

The hot wind blew with violence, and ren-

dered the travelling disagreeable; the sun and the wind were both in our faces. The air was all along troubled—and obscured, particularly at the horizon. At night it became calm, not a breath for intervals, which would be followed by a slight motion of the air; at one time the remains of the hot wind, at another the commencement of the cold.

We started at a quarter past five; stopped at Gharandel at five, stopped again at a quarter to eight till nine; then went on till half-past ten. At half-past five we started, and arrived at Aina Moussa at half-past two. Both these days, the winds were insufferably hot; the second day worse than the first, and the third than the second.

CHAPTER XVII.

Soil of Egypt—The Delta—Breadth of the Valley of the Nile—Mahomed Ali's Principal Ministers—Egyptian Architecture—Recollections and Anecdotes.

THE productive soil of Egypt, for the most part, is constituted by the deposited mud of the Nile: and the Delta is an entirely alluvial formation. The French *savans* ascertained the depth of the mud by sinking wells in various places, and the result of their investigations may be found in Denon. The base of the Delta is one hundred and fifty miles, or thereabouts, in extent, and the sides of the Isosceles are about one hundred miles. It has been called by various names, for it by no means resembles minutely the Greek letter. Scylax denominates it πέλεκυς; the natives, Rab, or Rib; at the present day softened into Erif, from its resemblance to half of a pear; and Bahari, or the mari-

time country. The word *Rahab* of the scriptures evidently points to this district. The cultivable land in Egypt may be reckoned at sixteen thousand square miles; that is, by allowing for the lateral valleys springing from the Delta, and giving ten miles in width to the Said, or Upper Egypt. M. Giraud again, and others, have only allowed nine miles of breadth for the elongated valley between Syene and Cairo, and, for the quantity of soil available for the purposes of husbandry, about eleven thousand square miles. Nearly the one-half of the country is irrigated, either by the periodical overflows of the river, or by artificial means. The fertility of this one-half has continued the same for three thousand years—one, and even two crops, being the annual return, without any abatement. The uninundated portion of the country is scanty, nay, almost sterile of crops.

The Kiaya Bey is the prime minister of the country, and the principal judge. The Agha of the Janissaries has the command of the forces. The Oualy is at the head of the police; the Bachy-agha has the internal regulation of the city. The robbers appear to be almost a corporated band; they have a chief, who is well known to the police, and, in case of robbery, he is put under arrest until the actual delinquent be discovered. Each considerable city is divided into quarters, like the arrondissements of Paris, and chooses a chief, who watches over the peace of a particular district.

The Porte, in former times, sent a minister of justice to Grand Cairo, who there discharged his office for a year—departing thence to Jedda for a similar period, and returning, after its expiration, to Constantinople. Strange as it may appear, this semblance of inferiority to the Porte is still preserved by Mahomed Ali, so much has it been his object to conciliate, in every way, the Divan of the Sultan, whilst, in his heart, he fancies himself as great as any potentate of Europe. The above high officer is the interpreter only of the law; under him are inferior cadis, who are mullahs, and the sheiks. One of the principal employments of the judges seems to be passing sentences of divorce: the contending parties, husband and wife, invariably plead their cause in person, making charges in homely naked language, and producing and examining their own witnesses, &c.

The Khaznadar is the treasurer; the Divan Effendi, comptroller of the merchandize for foreign consumption; the Selicdar is the leader of the household troops, and the Anactar-Aghassi, keeper of the '*Garde Meuble.*'

The standing army of Mahomed may be reckoned at twenty-eight thousand men, composing effective corps of infantry and cavalry. They are dispersed all over his dominions, both proper and tributary: the secret easiest of discovery, by an absolute prince, being the necessity of a standing army. The troops of the Viceroy are distri-

buted throughout Arabia, Nubia and Sennaar, the Said, Lower Egypt, Kardofan, Cairo, Alexandria, Rosetta, Bourlos, Aboukir, and Damietta. The principal encampments are on the Damietta and Rosetta branches of the Nile. Mahomed has a fine field of artillery. His troops are drilled after the European custom, and his principal military adviser is Colonel Sève, a renegade Frenchman of Napoleon's army, who has taken the name of Suliman Bey. All religions are tolerated; those of Europe under the sanction of their respective consuls. There are several establishments of Catholic Copts, and a good sprinkling of Propagandist missionaries. In the country, a great many Syrian Greeks are found, some of whom are considerable merchants. Besides this class, there is a numerous order of Schismatic Greeks. They have chapels in Cairo, and some other towns, and are governed by a patriarch of their own order: they speak the Arab dialect, but are easily distinguished by their difference of features. There are between three and four thousand Jews in Egypt. They have regular quarters at Cairo, and synagogues. In their persons, they are filthy, covered over with sores and scabs, and have running eyes, all which is the effect of the dirt in which they are born and bred. Their attachment to their place of birth is extravagant; according to M. Mangin, he met a female of the Egyptian sect at Paris, who, with an accent of bitter regret, exclaimed,

"Ah! Monsieur, où est le Caire, où est le quartier Juif?" The Copts are supposed to be the descendants of the antient Egyptians, and, at the present day, are the universal clerks of the country. They are Christians, and have a patriarch, who nominates to the Archbishopric of Gondar. This sect is extremely austere, with something like a Quakerish singularity of manner—their look is staid, their vestments simple, their demeanour according to the strict order of the ritual, their ceremonies precise, and they are uniform in their hours of rising and repose, of eating, drinking, in their spousal ceremonials, and the ordinary usages of life.

At Alexandria and Cairo are various houses of European merchants, consisting of English, French, Italian, and German. There is little doubt but that Egypt would become, if her resources were properly administered, one of the most prosperous countries of the globe. Independently of her central situation, between the three great divisions of the antient world, and the facility she possesses for a traffic with India and China, she has an exhaustless mine of wealth in her native river, which, in its periodical inundations, renews the soil, giving it a perpetual youth and vigour, whilst the ground of other countries, by over cultivation, becomes exhausted, and requires the expenditure of a store of wealth, to bring it into any thing like a remunerative capability. The deserts which surround Egypt may be considered as impregnable and ever-

lasting barriers against foreign invasion: and, as her civilization increases, and population is enlarged, the strides which those neighbouring deserts are annually making upon her fertile soil will be rebuffed, and stayed within a certain boundary; for what can strive against human labour, industry and perseverance? Simple, uncultivated men, built those prodigious monuments of pride, the pyramids; and the rude inhabitants of Holland, and the 'Cybele of the ocean,' reclaimed their habitations from the all-engrossing waters. The traffic of Egypt, however, must be always mainly carried on by the sea, for the progress of caravans is slow, expensive, and dangerous. These caravans will, doubtlessly fall more and more into disuse, as the spirit of Mahomedanism grows fainter and fainter: that this creed is gradually losing its influence over the minds of men, is incapable of contradiction, and that it will ultimately give way to the redeeming influences of the religion of Christ, is a consummation devoutly to be hoped. Pilgrimages to the holy cities and the tombs of the saints are by no means so frequent now as they formerly were, nor are the throngers of the temple in any way to be compared in numbers with those who, in the time of Joseph Pitts, or so late as the last century visited the Caaba, and kneeled in adoration at the foot of Mount Arafat. But with the Red Sea at her head, the Indian ocean behind her, the Mediterranean in her front, and

the glorious Nile through her centre, can it be said that Egypt wants facility of communication with the whole world? That years will pass ere Egypt becomes acquainted with the true principles of commerce, is naturally to be expected, but "time and the hour" teach wisdom, and wherefore should Egypt alone be exempted from the attainment of that precious treasure? The Pacha, moreover, is anxious to have a navy, and has built excellent ships.

The Pacha drinks wine, has established a printing press, has printed books, and circulated a newspaper, all which are against the principles and the policy of the Mahomedan faith.

The style of architecture and writing peculiar to Egypt, and by many referred alone to the more remote ages of her history, prevailed throughout the period of the Ptolomeian dynasty, as appears from the frequent Greek inscriptions, and also from sculptures, which are occasionally found with both the hieroglyphic and the ordinary writing inscribed on them. During the sway of the Grecian monarchs, however, architecture and sculpture did not flourish with the splendour and wondrous execution which had distinguished them under the native dynasties. Various causes co-operated to the decline of Egyptian art. It certainly cannot, with any truth, be said to have profited by an intercourse with the Greeks, for, from that intercourse, the decline may be dated. Christianity,

more than all, contributed to the extinction of that spirit which had inspired and strengthened the Egyptians to undertake and carry into effect designs so vast and unperishing, as those which now call forth the traveller's astonishment. The days of their superstition were those of the proudest glories, of the happiness and freedom of the Egyptians. Their blind belief in the divine origin of their kings encouraged them in labours to perpetuate a monarch's fame, by eternal monuments: and the numerous objects of their idolatrous worship induced that laborious and minute detail by which their sculptures are distinguished. But when the exercise of the antient faith was made penal, and another doctrine introduced, the temples were gradually abandoned, and the Egyptian spirit, unsubdued by political vicissitude and oppression, sank under the spiritual innovation, which it could neither resist nor comprehend.

RECOLLECTIONS.

In one of the coffee-houses at Siout we heard the following singular account of the origin of the Pharaoh dynasty. Pharaoh, we were told, was the son of a fellah, and on the death of his father, he very dutifully exhausted his inheritance in funeral festivities, a sort of Hibernian "fare-thee-well" to the departed. No funds remaining to meet the visit of the Sheik for taxes, that officer seized the cow, and the donkey, and left Pharaoh in the undisputed possession of three water melons, with which he resolved to "begin the world." He accordingly entered the bazaar at Cairo, and, seating himself on the ground, displayed his merchandize, which soon attracted the notice of a Mullah. This reverend personage advanced with becoming gravity, and, taking up one

of the melons, was about to depart, when Pharaoh modestly suggested the propriety of paying the purchase money. "My son," replied the imperturbable Mullah, "I take thy melon for the good of the mosque." With this answer honest Pharaoh was fain to be content, and, seeing another customer approaching, he rubbed his hands in expectation of bringing the remainder of his stock to a better market. But the second melon was seized with as ominous a gesture as the former, and the answer to Pharaoh's expostulation was, "I take thy melon for the use of the government." Beholding his melons vanish thus unprofitably, he thought of making sure of the only one remaining, by despatching it himself, which he did with great alacrity, and, full of the idea that he had learnt wisdom from the church and statesman, he fixed his plan for the following day. This was a simple one, and soon executed: after the example of the Mullah, he seized the first melon which he saw, and made off with it, telling the exasperated owner not to lose temper at this act, as it was all for the good of the mosque. But Pharaoh found no favour by the expedient which had succeeded so well with the Mullah. He was soundly bastinadoed, and expelled the town. The part out of which he was driven led to the burial ground: thither he repaired, and bethought him of trying whether the character of a policeman might not be more successfully supported, than that which

had brought him beneath the bastinado. An opportunity soon presented itself: a funeral entered the ground, when Pharaoh, in an authoritative tone, demanded and obtained ten piastres, as a burial fee, on pretence that he was the appointed guard. His finances were thus furnished for some time, and the occasional repetition of the fraud enabled him to live as a respectable Musulman, and Prophet-Reverencer. The parties hoaxed, knowing nothing of government regulations, believed the demand a just one, under some new enactment. Things were going on thus prosperously with Pharaoh, when one of the princesses died. She was brought to the democratic district of those sad levellers, the worms, where the customary fee was claimed by the pretended officer of police. The answer on this occasion was, that Pharaoh was a rascal, and must appear before the king to account for his profanation. On being questioned by his majesty, he narrated the melancholy fate of his water-melons, and the not less lamentable consequence of his first attempt at personation, adding that, having been so grossly tricked himself, he was justifiable in playing off his skill upon others. The king, highly amused at the matter and manner of his defence, not only pardoned him, but gave him an appointment in the police, which he filled so as to merit a subsequent elevation to the post of *chief of the police*, in the town district. For the better preservation of order,

his majesty issued strict injunctions that no person whatever should, under any pretence, be out of his dwelling after night-fall, and commanded Pharaoh to cut off the heads of all who transgressed this regulation. Our scrupulous officer was prepared to act up to his instructions more closely than even the royal disciplinarian had contemplated. Having found out that his majesty intended to go out incognito, for the purpose of ascertaining how his commands were executed, Pharaoh watched his opportunity, seized the king, and to all remonstrances replied, that it was too preposterous to suppose that a sovereign, whose sublime wisdom had suggested so salutary a law, should be the first to violate it. He therefore put an end to the dispute, by cutting off his majesty's head. Then, possessing himself of the royal signet, he returned to the palace, usurped the throne, and founded that dynasty which, by the blessing of Allah, led the Egyptians to the summit of prosperity and glory.

Mahomed Ali may be called a great man, but he is not one whit greater than he believes himself to be.

"He has, with all his merit, a great opinion of his own good qualities;" imagining himself superior in military tactics to Buonaparte and Wel-

lington, and, in short, to the first martial characters in existence. It will be remembered that he was to attack Damanhour when the French prudently retreated. This Mahomed has set down to a dread of his prowess. It is also well known that the English forces, of the second expedition in 1807, were defeated by the Egyptians, and obliged to leave the country: the circumstances which induced the failure of the enterprize are equally notorious: but Mahomed Ali attributes the disaster of the English to his own bravery in battle. He has been heard to say, "the French are good soldiers, but the English turned them out of Egypt, and may therefore be styled the victors; but then, you know, I turned them both out."

"No tricks upon travellers," is an ancient and wise injunction, but, like many others of equal antiquity and wisdom, it is often disregarded, to the great delight of those who cry "for shame!" at an excellent joke. Not the least amusing amongst such instances is the following, which can be authenticated by several living witnesses, and by one of the number of the departed, who is, or will shortly be, in England, to give evidence, if required. Let not the reader imagine that any attack on his nervous system is contemplated.

Though the following anecdote relates to the tomb, it will be found to possess no very lugubrious character.

An English traveller in Egypt, who had rendered himself conspicuous for his cupidity and meanness in his search for antiquities, of which, by the way, he understood nothing—had repeatedly pressed an Italian gentleman, then employed in excavating for the Swedish Consul, to give him sundry of the specimens which he happened to discover. But this gentleman, Signor Piccinini, understood matters too well to give what might be sold: still, to pacify the persevering applicant, he occasionally presented him with trifling subjects, till, at length, wearied with importunities, he resolved on the following method of sending the Englishman home in triumph: —

A short time before this mendicant traveller's arrival at Thebes, a Doctor Bonavilla, who was in the service of the Pacha, at Kordofan, finding himself incapacitated by illness for the duties of his office, had obtained leave of absence; but, on his reaching Thebes, was unable to proceed, and gladly accepted the hospitable offers of his countryman Piccinini. In his house the Doctor was attended, till, worn to the bone by disease, he expired. Among the vast number of surrounding sepulchres, there could be no lack of a burying place, but, wood being less abundant, Signor Piccinini was at a loss how to procure a coffin for

his departed friend. To supply this want, he bethought him of a mummy case, and, having dislodged the ancient tenant, he deposited Dr. Bonavilla in its stead, and placed him in a tomb near the house. Finding, as has been already said, that small presents to the English traveller only increased the cravings of his antiquarian appetite, and that nothing short of a mummy would satisfy him, Signor Piccinini decided that Doctor Bonavilla should serve his turn. Accordingly, he sent for the traveller, and, with due mysteriousness, informed him that he had in his possession one of the most singular mummies which it had ever been his good fortune to meet with; and that, for the great regard entertained by him for the English nation generally, and for the said traveller in particular, he begged to present it to him. Overwhelmed by such apparent generosity, our countryman poured forth grateful acknowledgments on his own behalf, and that of all Englishmen, assuring the Signor that his name should be honourably mentioned to the antiquarians of Britain. It should be here observed, that Doctor Bonavilla having adopted the Turkish costume, had worn his beard long, and thus the supposed mummy presented the additional and rare attraction of a flowing white beard. To account for the absence of the bandages by which mummies usually are enveloped, the Italian stated that they had been removed in searching for papyri, and he further affirmed that, from general

appearances, the mummy in question could have been no less a personage than one of the high priests of Jupiter Ammon. The bait was eagerly taken; our traveller wished to have immediate possession of so invaluable a treasure, but Piccinini represented that, should the consul hear of his having parted with it, he would in all probability discharge him. The removal was, therefore, deferred till night, when Dr. Bonavilla was safely lodged in the cangia of the traveller, from whose importunities Piccinini was thus effectually released. However, he could not forbear the gratification of giving publicity to the joke:—it was served up to every traveller who visited him, and many a *bon voyage* has been wished to the antiquary and the high priest of Jupiter Ammon, who, ere this, have, in all probability, arrived in England

---

People travel from "divers, sundry, and various" motives, many of which seem strange enough to those not actuated by them. But the inducement which led a young gentleman belonging to "Modern Athens" to visit antient Jerusalem, is indisputably droll. Jerusalem is usually sought by the learned, the devout, or the curious, in neither of which classes the Caledonian in question can be ranked. He would visit the holy city, though he

recked not of its memories, its sanctity, or singularity. He had no thought of writing a book, of saying a prayer, or of exploring an unknown spot. No: yet was he undismayed by the difficulties of the journey, and the probabilities of the plague, for his soul was hungering and thirsting—after justice? not a bit of it; but after a regular succession of substantial Scotch dinners. "I will go to Jerusalem," he exclaimed, "for, having seen it, I shall, on my return to Edinburgh, be asked to dinner every day in the week." For Jerusalem, therefore, he set out, but on arriving at Gaza, a frontier dividing the two Pachalics, he was detained, and, as he had no firman, the authorities put him under arrest, while a despatch was forwarded to the Pacha at Acre. Till the answer should arrive, he was confined to a room, and given to understand that strong suspicions existed of his being a Russian spy; and, as he was unable to make himself understood either in Turkish or Arabic, he had no means of expressing his wishes but through a servant, who was occasionally allowed to visit him. During this perplexing confinement, he was occasionally favoured with a "look in" by Turks, who very significantly indicated what punishment they thought to be awaiting him. One of these true believers was particularly punctual in such visits. Daily would he enter the room and stand before the prisoner, grinning, and drawing his fore-finger from ear to ear, till he supposed the Englishman

fully sensible of his meaning. After four days, an answer arrived from the Pacha at Acre, permitting him to return without further molestation, but forbidding his proceeding on his intended journey. To this, however, he would not consent, but persisted in going to Acre, accompanied by an escort; and there he obtained leave to visit Jerusalem, still under an escort, which so diligently attended him, that he was unable to see the principal attractions of the place, and also prevented from travelling in Syria. He returned to Cairo, and gave a full account of the issue of his attempt, from which he had been dissuaded by his friends. But he was content; he had seen Jerusalem,—and Edina's dinners were secured. One circumstance of his trip, however, he could not think on with patience. Indeed, he declared, that of all the annoyances he had endured, none gave him an uneasy reflection, excepting the diurnal visits of the d—d Turk, with his ominous digit.

NOTES

FROM

MR. WEBSTER'S JOURNAL

ON

SICILY AND MALTA.

NOTES,

&c.

We set sail from Naples on the 31st of October, 1826, at seven P. M., by the Santo Bambino, for Messina. The amphitheatric appearance of the bay, when lighted at evening, has been often described. There are also numerous lights from the vessels in the harbour, and fishing boats out towards the Castel del Novo. The lights of Portici, &c. are indistinctly seen. The weather was fair when we set sail, and we got past Capri, but, next morning, the wind failed, and towards evening became contrary, the sky threatening, and, in the direction of Naples, a violent rain was falling. Towards midnight there came a heavy swell, and after a night spent in exclaiming "Madonna,

Madonna mia," the terrified passengers found themselves on their return to Naples. The swell continued, and on going upon deck at noon, we saw Capri before us, and the vessel right on the way for Naples. We passed Capri, two other ships following us, and at half past four, P. M., arrived at Naples, on the 2d of November, having been two days out at sea. The stormy appearance was unabated, and the sea-birds were flying about the harbour: we were, therefore, constrained to remain in Naples, which we did for three days, during which it rained incessantly.

We at length set sail on the 11th of November, at half-past four P. M. Just as we were starting, Vesuvius vomited, for twenty minutes, a great quantity of smoke. At first, a number of white wreaths emerged from the crater: these were succeeded by vapours of a browner colour, and thicker, and in a few minutes a great column was formed, the whole diameter of the crater. We passed Capri, and on the 12th made some little way. On the 13th, we bore out to sea, with a sirocco wind, which, however, becoming better, we got in the direction to Messina, and on the afternoon of the 14th drew near the Lipari islands. In the evening, we were becalmed among these islands. At five, P. M., on the 14th, there was an almost total eclipse of the moon. In the morning, the wind was a sirocco, and we bore on very hardly towards Scylla. The town of Scylla is chiefly to the left

of the rock and castle, and appears like a little glacier coming down the ravine, in which it principally lies. A range of houses is on the other, or Messina side of the castle. The rock of the jut into the sea is of considerable height, quite perpendicular, and almost round. A smaller rock juts out still farther, so that, seen from nearer to Messina, the whole has the appearance of a laden camel. The famous whirlpool is below. The rocks of Scylla form a bay, extending several miles. Scylla itself is a small town at the south extremity of this bay, and just where the ridge of high lands begins to diminish in height, and to fall off towards the straits. We came within two hundred yards of the rock. Our entrance into Messina could not have been made at a better time for seeing the nature and strength of those currents and whirlpools which have rendered this neighbourhood so celebrated and proverbial. The wind was tremendous, right against our passage; but such, at that hour, was the force of the currents through the straits towards Messina, that an entrance was judged practicable. We had then to pass from Scylla to Charybdis. We tacked close to Scylla, entered the straits, and were driven onward by the current, when we tacked again across towards Reggio, and, after another tack, passed close under the castle of St. Salvadore. Within the harbour we took two tacks, to arrive at the upper end, and stopped at one P. M.

We got into a boat, twenty-eight passengers and fourteen sailors, in all forty-two, and were taken to the sanitary house; here we were all put within a railing, and kept waiting till half-past three, when a personage made his appearance, and presenting a long pole, the captain put the invoice of his passengers, &c. into an opening at the end of it. It was then fumigated, and at length touched, and carried to the deputate, three of whom were now returned from dinner. After the captain had answered the questions put to him respecting the name of his ship, her cargo, the place from which she had sailed, the time of sailing, the names of his passengers, &c. &c. we were each called in turn, and passed from out our temporary prison.

It rained all day. In the evening I went to the theatre, which was the second in Messina, and the smallest I had ever been in. The chief character in the piece which we saw was a kind of buffoon, who amused the audience by his pranks, and native Sicilian dialect. Judging from the convulsive laughter which he everywhere excited, he must have been an excellent actor. This character was not limited to any particular piece, but entered into all of those produced, the same as Pulchinello at the San Carlino at Naples. We were informed that these pieces were full of wit and humour, given in the provincial dialects of Naples and Sicily, which, like all other low dia-

lects, are more *expressive* than the language itself, and more adapted to proverbial aphorisms, quaint saws, and ludicrous imagery. The same is said of the different French *patois* in the south. The appearance, manner, conversation, &c. of the people in the South of Italy, fully support the character which they have for fantastic drollery and originality.

On the following day, I visited the church of San Gregorio, wholly inlaid with precious marbles, forming figures, birds, flowers, &c. There is a convent adjoining, the parlour of which I entered. It is a room about thirty feet, having on one side four barred openings, each four or five feet by three, the outside bars of iron, the inner ones of wood, opening at the pleasure of those within. Here the nuns present themselves, when called by those who wish to speak with them. At each opening are fine carved sofas, for the accommodation of those visiting there. The convent is a long irregular building, commanding a view of the town and harbour by its lofty situation. Women of all ages are here immured.

At the inn, I met an improvisatore. He was a young man of twenty or so, who offered to improvise on any subject. The subject of Scylla and Charybdis was given, and, in about a quarter of an hour, he produced a written stanza. Next day, he brought some verses on the destruction of Pompeii. If rhymes were given him, he said he

would fill them up on any subject. Rhymes were accordingly given, and the death of Cæsar suggested as a subject. He passed to the other side of the room, and, returning in a moment, without uttering a word, took an attitude like one inspired, and, without stopping, filled up about twenty lines, the poetry of which was really beautiful. He accompanied me to the whirlpool of Charybdis. On the way he improvised several stanzas. We sailed into the centre of the whirlpool, which at that moment was comparatively quiet, the sirocco being past. Even a large vessel, if placed in a high wind where we were, would have been whirled round and engulphed. The boiling of the water was quite visible. This celebrated whirlpool lies on the outside of the harbour, beyond the mole, not ten minutes sail from Messina. The improvisatore now, by way of commentary on Italian versification, gave stanzas in every kind of Italian metre. He certainly evinced a very minute and astonishing information on every subject. He was a young officer, rather awkward in his address, but improving much on acquaintance. When asked to go to Charybdis, he said that he would do so willingly, if his uncle would permit him, and asked us to make a request to that effect. In fact, excepting in his talent, he was a mere boy. The secret of improvisation is extensive reading and a strong memory, grafted on a poetical temperament, and applied to a harmonious language.

Mules had been taken for Catania, and afterwards changed for a sort of litter, carried by two mules. Purgatory was painted, as arms, on the panels—appropriately enough. I set out at half-past six, A. M., and reached Giardini, thirty miles on, at a quarter-past five. The road is almost always along the shore, and often is a mere foot-path, sometimes among the sands on the beach.

In the morning, before daylight, I went up the hill to Taorminum, to see the ruins of the ancient town. The size of the theatre is immense. We left Giardini at half-past eight, and were at Catania at three-quarters past six, having passed for twelve or more miles over the lava of Ætna.

Catania is a large town. The cathedral has six large granite columns in front, from a Greek theatre. The upper range of granite columns is modern. In the middle of the square of the cathedral is an elephant fountain; the elephant is of lava, and is six or seven feet high, with part of a pillar of red granite, having Egyptian figures on it.

Ætna street, which runs towards Messina, and the Corso, are both very long streets, perhaps three-quarters of a mile, and perfectly straight and broad.

St. Maria della Rotonda is a small dome, forty feet in diameter. The convent of the Benedettino is of immense size. The great church is an imitation of St. Peter's. Therein I witnessed the ceremony of a female taking the veil. At about

eleven, at each of the four side altars, a priest in full canonicals was singing mass, and at the great altar were four priests similarly robed and employed. On returning at about twelve, I found the church full. At the high altar was the officiating priest. All the grated galleries above were filled with nuns, singing. Crowds occupied the body of the church. A small grating on the left side, and communicating with the convent, was now opened, and the lady who was to take the vows was led forth, her head crowned with flowers, and her right hand holding a garland. Her dress was black, with a white head covering. Two sisters, in deep black, supported her on either side. Near the grating, there were many nuns, all of them in black, and wearing hoods. The ceremony had something imposing in it — perhaps on account of the great beauty of the singing. When the newly professed had gone through the forms by which she bade a final adieu to the world, she was addressed in congratulation by the sisterhood, and seemed by no means sad on the occasion.

Catania, styled the Albeus of Sicily, in historical renown is only inferior to Syracuse. The Sicoli and Phenicians possessed it: it was subdued by Hiero of Syracuse, and by him called Etneo; liberated by Timoleon; subjected by Messala, a Roman three times consul; destroyed by irruption; and is now considered as one of the best built cities in Europe. A more productive soil is not to be found

in the island. The population, in 1798, was fifty-five thousand; in 1811, eighty thousand. There are nineteen convents for men, eleven for women; (of the convents, six are for nobles;) forty-nine churches and chapels; the church and convent of the Benedictines are beautiful. The plain of Catania, the largest in the island, is fourteen miles long, and ten broad. Corn produces one hundred fold, sometimes one hundred and twenty. There are no trees. The celebrated amber of Catania is found on the coast.

The museum of Biscari is unusually large. It contains a bronze of Mercury, representing the god darting into heaven; almost the attitude of the famous Mercury by Giovanni di Bologna. This museum is very rich in bronzes and architectural fragments.

On account of the threatening weather, and, of the flood, it was impossible to go the usual way to Syracuse. Going by Leontini required two days. At half-past eight we set out for that place, passing over a lava stream. On leaving the town, our road was along the shore; the sea was rough, and the clouds on Ætna black and thick. We arrived at Leontini at two P. M. The situation of this place is very singular. We left Leontini at half-past seven, and reached Syracuse at three. The road was wretched, almost always over rocks, and through the bleakest country possible up to Syracuse.

Syracuse has one of the finest harbours in the world. The division into vallies was first made by the Saracens; they are three; Mazzara, on the west; Noto and Demona on the east. The cities in Mazzara are Palermo, Trassani, Marala, Mazzara, Sciacca, Gergenti; in Noto, Catania, Agasta and Syracuse; and in Demona, Messina, Taurmina, Cefalu, and Milazzo.

Mr. Capodicci, in his work on ancient Syracuse, estimates its population, in its most flourishing periods, at three millions. The ground makes this utterly impossible; besides that history speaks of no such incredible numbers. This resembles the exaggerations as to the extent of Rome. The old city, it is certain, consisted of four parts—first, Ortigia, the oldest, and now the site of actual Syracuse. This part occupies the peninsula between the basin and the sea. It is at present all covered with the town, which contains about fourteen thousand people. It is always mentioned first, and was a great component part of the ancient city. The other three, Tycha, Agradina, and Napoli, occupied the space from the sea on the east, to the commencement of the marshes of the river Anassus on the west; for it is but reasonable to suppose, that these marshes existed then, as now. This may be a length of about a mile and a-half. The northern boundary is equally distinct, being the range of bare rocks cut up with the tombs, &c., running from the theatre east-

ward, and leaving a strip of perhaps half a mile in breadth. In ignorance, at the present moment, of what history has directly asserted on the subject, we may conjecture that ancient Syracuse was a town of one hundred, or one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Capodicci is rather superficial in his antiquarian learning: any doubt as to the city having covered the space occupied by the marshes, is removed by the words of Cicero, who says, that the temple of Jupiter Olympicus was at the distance of one mile from the city. This could only be true, if the marshes formed the western boundary of Syracuse.

The strength of Syracuse is immense. On entering, you pass through five gates successively. There are two communications across the Isthmus, from the bay to the sea—batteries—a large square space between the ditches—a small port, said to have been the ancient one—a wall continued all round the bay and sea-sides—and a large square fort at the point, on the extremity of the Peninsula. The walls are guarded by sentinels, and to certain parts of the fortifications all admission is denied.

I witnessed a representation of "Achilles" at the Syracuse theatre. Only two of the actors were professional men, the others dilletanti of the city. The characters of Priam and Paris were ill supported—that of Priam's daughter very well. The herald of Achilles was played by the actor, and Achilles himself by the Baron Syanturri, who is a

very passable performer, and, to all appearance, a great favourite with the audience. The theatre is small—the attendance on the night in question was numerous, comprising some Syracuse beauties—brown, with dark eyes and hair. On the drop scene was an inscription, which changed the feeling of ridicule excited by this dilletanti performance into one of high historical interest. It was a translated quotation from Theocritus—"Epidarmo, Inventor della Commedia." Thus, then, the old Greek colonists sent the dramatic art hence to their parent country, and from them it has descended to us.

One of the most remarkable and interesting objects for the stranger at Syracuse is the temple of Minerva. There are twenty grooves round the pillars. The columns are of three pieces, apparently four diameters high. Eleven of these are seen on the outside—the four first the whole height for one or two grooves. Of the rest, all is built out of sight but the capitals. The whole line of the entablature, with triglyphs, is seen above; but the best view of these most perfect remains is in the interior, where the double range is at once seen, eight on each side, emerging considerably from the wall, which has been placed between them, to form a church. Two cross columns are also seen at the great entrance.

There is a large antique vase, serving for a baptismal font. The façade of the cathedral is

very handsome, consisting of two ranges of Corinthian, surmounted by another of composite columns. The height is about double that of the old temple, as the first ranges rise somewhat higher than the capitals of the massive Grecian columns. The pavement is of variegated marbles, the spoil of the ancient city. In front are colossal statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. Under the first is "Apostolorum principi, fundatori suo, ecclesia Syracusana." Under the second, "Gentium apostolo, hospiti suo, ecclesia Syracusana." There was ample food for reflection in this temple, while masses were being said and canticles sung, by the priests and choristers. Another worship and another God had collected their priests under that same roof. Five-and-twenty centuries have passed since it became consecrated ground; and Greeks, Romans, Christians, and Saracens, have successively performed their several devotions.

Thucydides, who lived in the fifth century before Christ, mentions this temple. Cicero says, its walls were covered with tavoli—among others the battle of Agathocles—pictures of the tyrants placed there. From the times of the apostles, St. John "fuore i muri," was the cathedral. Minerva became the cathedral in the seventh century—was sacked by the Saracens in 878, and five thousand pounds of silver Greek vases taken. In

1542 an earthquake caused the columns on the left to go out of plumb.

The church of St. Giovanni, at St. Syracuse, is said to be the oldest in the world, and that in which St. Paul preached.

The clergy and cowled gentry are most abundant and flourishing in Syracuse, where, indeed, superstition has as fair an empire as could be desired by the direst foe to mental freedom. Monastic life was introduced into Sicily in the sixth century, and the monks went on increasing in numbers and iniquity, till the Saracens took Syracuse in 878, when they were almost exterminated. All religious orders were pillaged, and the Christians subjected to severe persecution during the stay of these barbarians in Sicily. They were at length, in 1071, driven out by Ruggiero, who gave one-third of property to the clergy. At the restoration, the monastic orders were chiefly Benedictines and Carmelites. The inquisition was established by Frederic II. In Palermo, Charles V. restored it, after it had been abolished, and its archives burnt by the people in 1556. At present, in the whole island, there are eight hundred and fifty convents, one-third for women. Several in Palermo, for females, have country houses for the summer. The three great points in Sicily, are celibacy, auricular confession, and absolution.

The convents on Acradina, are of Franciscans

and Capuchins. The former has a fine colonnade, and is a large establishment. One of the fathers shewed me the convent and church. There are only twelve monks now in the convent, and they are in no very good case. He who had offered himself as a guide was of mild and pleasing manners. Reminding me of the duty of all good Christians, he said, that the revenues had been taken from the order, and that the monks subsisted on charity. Seeing that this made no impression, he bluntly asked for the smallest sum, accompanying his request with gesticulations, indicating that actual hunger pressed him. As soon as he had got possession of the alms, he abruptly retired into his cell. On coming home in the afternoon, I saw him near the gate of the town, talking very briskly and contentedly. In short he was a hypocrite, and a monk! Generally, every evening a father of one of the orders is to be seen haranguing the people, in the place where the muleteers, fishwomen, &c., congregate together. I frequently noticed a capuchin so employed. In his hand he held a great cross of ebony, a foot in length, with a brass Christ thereon. He had also a small cross at his left side, near the heart; and, hanging from the white cord round his waist, was a string of very large beads, ornamented with brass. He preached in Italian, and much like a buffoon, often inviting the populace to salvation, and pecuniary contribution, in the most ludicrous tone of conver-

sational coaxing; while another person, with something like an old nightcap on a pole, stood engaged in the useful office of money-taker to the preacher. These monks are met in shoals of twenty or thirty at a time, sauntering, marketing, &c. &c.—Two days before we left Syracuse, a nine day's ceremonial had commenced. It began in the cathedral, or temple of Minerva, at seven every morning. At eight, a little petard, fired nine times, announced to all the inhabitants that the elevation of the host was taking place. Whatever be his employment at the time, every good Catholic must instantly fall on his knees: at home, or in the street, idle, or on important business, a spirit of inspiring piety strikes them, like St. Paul, motionless on the road. At six in the evening, the ceremony was repeated at the church of St. Mary, with a military band of eighteen, who played for an hour. Great crowds were attracted to this temple by piety and music, the latter of which was truly good. At the end of the church, there are numbers of galleries or balconies, all grated, and cross-grated, from which we could see numbers of the nuns, who had come to listen and join in the worship. At six the petard again fired nine times, and all were on their knees in an instant, while the priest at the altar held up, and turned from side to side, the starred and glittering host, enshrined in gold, he himself covered with embroidery, his altar blazing with candles, and orna-

mented with flowers, and the church hung with scarlet, and lighted by forty chandeliers.

The education of a priest is a simple matter: he enters a seminary, and studies the fathers, the lives of the saints, and the articles of faith: but to the study of philosophy, literature, and history, he is an utter stranger.

The education of females is exclusively in the hands of the abbesses. After her sixth year a girl is put into a *retiro*, under the tuition of an abbess, nuns, and a confessor. These endeavour to persuade her to take the veil. Where there are two, or more daughters in a family, one is invariably destined to the convent. Many now institute proceedings, to prove that the veil was taken by them, without a free consent, and, if they make this sufficiently evident, are liberated. More than a quarter of the landed property belongs to the church, and convents. Some have from forty to sixty fiefs, let only for three or four years. The Benedictines alone are said to be worth twenty thousand pounds per annum. The Bishop of Catania derives a large revenue from the snow of Ætna, which is sent to Naples, and used for ices.

I derived much pleasure from the society of a Signor P——, an antiquary, who had all the enthusiasm and originality necessary to form what is called a "character." His theory concerning the excavation known by the name of "the Ear of Dionysius," was singular. It having been men-

tioned in conversation, that, at the theatre of Athens, there existed a subterranean construction, having for its object the improvement of the hearing and echo, the Signor gave it as his opinion, that the Ear of Dionysius was a similar work. There is a small canal running round one of the rows of benches, the discovery of which (evidently a water canal) my friend the antiquary states to be his own, it not being mentioned by Biscaris or Capodicci. This same canal is about ten inches broad, and as many deep; and, as the marks of the stones shew, had been covered over, for the very natural purpose of preserving the feet of those sitting on the next higher bench from being immersed in ten inches of water. Another similar to it runs lower down, and, to complete the basis of the grand theory, a third is supposed. These little canals are then imagined to have had others, of which no traces are discoverable, communicating, all through the solid rock, with the top of the Ear of Dionysius. A like canal runs along the roof of the Ear, and secondly, important discovery! the canal does not finish with the cave: might it not, then, run through the rock, and come out at the canals? I, of course, assented with all possible gravity to this original conjecture. Still it remained to be shewn how this could assist either sound or hearing, when the Signor explained the matter to his own entire satisfaction, and from his explanation it might be gathered, that the voice of the

actor made the following sort of journey. It issued from his mask, and though it could not possibly perceive from the *scena* the entrance into the Ear, ran by a natural instinct over the rock, and down the precipice, and, rushing into the sonorous cavern of its corner, vexed itself into wild thunder, bounding, bursting, and bellowing through the arched crescent. It then took refuge in the canal in the roof, driven upwards into it from every point and curve. Arrived at the end of the cave, and frightened at the darkness, and at itself, it continued along the canal, the gigantic sounds which it had gathered in its passage, latent, but not extinguished by the compression and bustle. In this state it again saw the light at the canals, which it instantly filled with its expanding body, and beholding the thirty thousand spectators, each with his natural ears, far different from that Titanian imitation, where it had itself been transformed to a corresponding bulk, broke into a thousand little voices of the same size as when it left the *scena*, and, like one escaped from the giants and dungeons of a dream, seeing his own house and friends restored to him, it flew from ear to ear, relating to each its history. Such is the theory of Signor P——, the Syracusan Cicerone and Antiquary!

The inscriptions at the theatre, Phillestides, Nereides, &c. &c., have given rise to disputes among antiquarians which have not been unin-

structive. General Cockburn mentions the conjecture of one of his friends, namely—that, like our names, " Prince's side," " Queen's side," &c., these inscriptions were the names given to such different parts of the theatre. The holes for rings along the Ear of Dionysius, which have been generally supposed for the prisoners of that sovereign, were made some hundred years ago. The Ear was used as a wine warehouse or cellar, and the porters made these rings for fastening their mules. Such are many of the bolts and bars of dungeons, baronial halls, &c.

The volcano, from a hill near the ancient baths at Lepari, is still active, and more worth seeing than Vesuvius or Etna, I went to examine the papyrus on the river Anassus, or rather on a branch which joins with it. The size of the largest was about eleven feet in height, and about two, or two and a half inches diameter at bottom. It is very porous, like fine lace, when cut transversely. The papyrus is made by cutting the stalk in thin pieces longitudinally. This was of old a great source of papyrus. The Anassus is a small stream, thirty feet or so, almost stagnant, in a rich meadow. It runs a little to the north of the temple of Jupiter Olympicus, falling into the basin at the north-west corner, and at the extremity of the marshes, which extend from near it to Syracuse.

On returning to town at five, the hour at which

the captain had said he would tell me whether we should sail that evening or on the following morning, I found all in readiness, and instantly embarked. At half-past five, we were under sail for Malta, in an excellent schooner. The weather was rather unfavourable, and grew worse, till, after much tacking, and vain attempts to turn Cape Passaro, we found ourselves on our way back to Syracuse, where, at a little after ten, we were safely moored once again. It was too late to enter the harbour, the gates being shut, so we had to pass the night on board, where the calls of the sentinels on watch to each other, all along the extensive lines, prevented us from sleeping. It rained throughout the night, and towards morning the rain fell tremendously. The sky was quite overclouded: near us were four other vessels which had also taken shelter on the previous evening. It was fortunate that we had not sailed earlier, as in that case we should have probably passed Cape Passaro, and been prevented from regaining the harbour. Gergenti, or even Palermo, might have been our landing place, had the wind made Malta out of the question.

We remained in Syracuse till the 7th, detained by contrary winds, when we set sail at twelve, but had not got out of the harbour when the wind fell, and we returned. We went ashore, and at five P. M. came back to the schooner, when all were of opinion she would not sail on that night.

As, however, there was every likelihood of her sailing early next morning, I resolved to sleep on board. There were nine vessels in the harbour, most of them driven back by the late unfavourable weather. Four were bound for Malta. The evening was beautiful, the sun setting over the Hybla: the basin perfectly still, Syracuse seen on the height, and Etna in the distance over the rocks, visible as far down as the snow reached. Suddenly, a favouring wind sprang up, and we as suddenly set sail, contrary to our expectation, at half-past six P. M., on the same evening, the 7th of December, and at one A. M. were past Cape Passaro. On getting into the channel of Malta, we tacked, the weather became cloudy, and towards afternoon there was a high south-west wind. We were then, at three P. M. about forty miles from Malta. It became very cloudy, and the ship, unable to make way, turned back towards Sicily. Shortly after, as we were going on rapidly though roughly, the owner of the vessel came on deck, carrying a little bell and a string of beads. After a brief consultation with the captain, he summoned the whole crew, who ranged themselves half on either side of the deck. The bell rang to give notice of the time for commencing the *Aves*, and one side chaunted the first, and then the other took up the remaining in a higher key. The bell sounded, and *Gloria Patri* was sung, after ten *Aves* had been chaunted in the manner just de-

scribed. After this, each crossing himself, and falling on his knees, began muttering in a hurried whisper the Litany of the Virgin, commencing with *Kyrie Eleison*, and giving about fifty epithets to the Madonna. Another chaunt completed the round, which, however, was no sooner done, than they recommenced the *Aves*—singing ten of them as before, repeating the *Gloria*, the *Kyrie Eleison*, and the concluding song, which process was gone through a third, fourth, and fifth time. Then the crew dispersed, but their devotions were not over, for a few seconds after: one of the seamen struck up a long religious hymn, in the chorus of which, all his messmates most devoutly joined.

In such a scene, a stranger sees an imposing proof of the influence of religion, or superstition, especially when performed at the fall of a long winter night, with a storm approaching. The sky was overcast in all directions—the sea covered with white waves—and, what added to the strange feeling of the moment during these devotions was, that the sea-fowl were wheeling round and screaming near us, or beating in flocks against the waves. The dolphins, too, followed the ship in numbers, raising up their heads at intervals to catch the enthusiastic cries of adoration, harmonizing with the whistle of the tackling, and the crash and tossing of the disturbed element. This praying is certainly not censurable in itself, and the man who conscientiously rejects devotion to

the virgin, as idle and blasphemous, has no right to blame those who conscientiously perform it, as a part of their religious belief. Still the time and circumstances calling forth this manifestation of feeling may fairly lead to an unfavourable opinion as to the truth and purity of religious sentiments, which are roused by the tempestuous terrors of the deep, and subside with the subsiding storm. We should distinguish between two kinds of danger: one is vague, addressing itself to our fears—the other fixed and calculable, and perhaps more properly expressed by the word *difficulty*. Religion fortifies the mind against danger generally. It enables men confidently to undertake great and perilous enterprises. In commencing these, nothing is more inspiring than religious ceremonies. The attendance on them is a union of number, where every man's resolution is confirmed by that of his associates, while each feels his enthusiasm and courage, as it were, re-produced and multiplied. But the case is otherwise, when danger is actually and unexpectedly at hand—danger, too, the possible extent of which is unknown. Here religion is, indeed, equally powerful in its encouragements and consolation: but every man should draw on the resources of his own piety—should strengthen himself in the armour of his own faith—and not, by uniting in audible invocations to a preserving agency, confess merely a strong sense and dread of danger. A company

of cowards may collectively exhibit the highest efforts of courage from shame, from ignorance of each other's cowardice, &c.; but this spell is broken when all unite in a ceremony which, though not, perhaps, an avowal of fear, is decidedly a confession of the sense of danger and the need of assistance. The imagination is affected by a ceremony which is in itself humiliating, and which, leading to vast and imposing ideas, gives, by an uncontrollable sympathy, the same character to the indications around us. Thinking of the Omnipotent, of that vast and boundless power which created winds and sea, the fancy supposes the same energy about to urge the impetuous career of the one, and lash the other into fury. Thus, the billows roll more restlessly to the eye of the devotee,—the night grows murkier with the mists of superstition, and the dreary waste of waters still more dark and desolate. Does this doctrine appear to imply a blasphemous audacity—an atheist struggle against Heaven and its terrors? Let us consider the example set by an apostle in a danger similar to that which has given rise to these reflections—one encountered in the same channel, perhaps on the same spot, where the Sicilians now fell upon their knees in terror. Paul makes no mention of worship during his perilous voyage from Alexandria to Malta. His whole narrative is a relation of exertions and plans. "When the ship could not bear up against the

wind, we let her drive—we had much work to come by the boat." They used help, ungirding the ship, lest they should fall into quicksands; "next day, they lightened the ship: we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship," &c. &c. True, Paul relates his vision, but it is to encourage them, concluding thus, "Wherefore, Sirs, be of good cheer." They cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day. He next prevents them from deserting the ship, when at a short distance from Malta; he makes them eat, "then were they all of good cheer; they lightened the ship, and cast the wheat into the sea." Thus wrote and acted Paul, and his example may be adduced in support of the position—that men should be pious in undertaking, brave in encountering, and again pious after overcoming danger.

We went on towards the coast of Sicily, thinking that we might not be obliged to return entirely, and expecting to ride about the coast through the night; but, after many consultations and debates we took the direction of Cape Passaro, with the intention of passing it. The sky cleared up as suddenly as it had darkened, and we could by the light of the full moon see the lowland at the south eastern extremity of Sicily. Soon after midnight, we saw Cape Passaro and its ruined castle. Though the sky had cleared, still the wind continued too strong to admit of our attempting to return, and we adopted the middle

course of riding all night in a small bay, sheltered by high rocks to the south. Here we had another instance of superstition. One of the passengers, a Maltese, happening to awake about two in the morning, discovered, to his terror, that the lamp which hung before the image of the Virgin, in the centre of the stern, had gone out. He sprang to the other lamp on the table, and, having renewed the vestal flame as quickly as possible, took off his Spanish night-cap with all imaginable devotion, and kneeling, groaned out as many *Aves* as he thought might atone for the neglect. At sunrise, the wind had neither changed nor abated, so that it was resolved to proceed at once to Syracuse, now only about twenty-five miles distant.

Thus, then, we were a second time to return, unsuccessful in our attempt to reach Malta. Already Syracuse, with its forts, its rocks, its harbour, appeared in view—the wind bore us right on; we were far in the bay, and turning towards the harbour, within a mile and a half of the town, when the wind fell. For half-an-hour we were becalmed; the long desired *vento maestro*, or north-east wind sprang up, and instantly (so sudden are the changes in this fickle sea) we turned, and were on our way to Malta. It was half-past eleven A. M. when we turned. We went on excellently all the afternoon. Cape Passaro was passed during the night, and in the morning we saw Sicily far in the distance. It gradually sank out of view. We

were now as prosperous as we had before been unfortunate, which may account for the repetition of the long litany, *Aves*, &c. which were chaunted, as before, by about fifty, and also for the pious proposal of the Maltese, that on the following morning, Sunday, we should have a mass celebrated on board.

On Saturday, at half past eleven A. M., we had turned from Syracuse; at twelve on the following day, we got sight of Malta. The crew had been looking out for, and hailed the discovery of the island, nearly an hour before we could distinguish any thing but mist on the horizon. Practice has given them a wonderful expertness: a slight tinge in the mist is instantly recognised as the sought-for island.

We arrived before the harbour, at sunset. Nothing can be more striking than the entrance, which, in grouping, surpasses the celebrated Bay of Naples. The fortifications are the first subject of astonishment: they are composed of long lines, half cut out of the rock, half of equally solid wall. Range rises above range, and fort beyond fort, commanding every height and inlet. The curious and unexampled formation of the port is the next. Nothing can be more impressive than the view of Malta, to a stranger arriving in the harbour of la Valetta. The high walls, the houses rising one above the other, the arches of the lower Barracca, the three cities on the opposite side of the harbour,

with Ports Ricasoli, St. Angelo, and the fortifications of Florian; the creeks with the merchant vessels and ships of war lying at anchor, and the walls of Cottonosa, form together a *coup-d'œil* of a very imposing character. On arriving, a quarantine is performed, more or less, by every vessel. We were, therefore, surrounded by pilots, whose business is to carry the ship, according to its voyage, to the common, or the quarantine harbour. There being free pratique from Sicily, we were immediately permitted to land. We observed that all the flags were lowered, and the pilot informed us that the governor, the Marquis of Hastings, who had left Malta some weeks before, in bad health, and intending to pass the winter at Naples, had died on board, the day of the vessel's arrival in the bay. As he had directed his body to be buried at Malta, it was brought back in another vessel, which had arrived the day before us. Such was the state of His Excellency's health before leaving Malta, that his return was despaired of, and the establishment at the palace broken up, and yet his death, thus suddenly announced by the bearers of his corpse, created a sensation of surprise among the men who had entertained no hope of his returning alive to the seat of government.

Nearly two thousand boats ply in the great harbour, to take passengers from Valetta to the three cities, or on board the vessels, &c. These boats

are large, and commodious, and, what must surprise an Englishman accustomed to Thames navigation, the boatmen are most civil, cheerful, and obliging functionaries. They occasionally however exchange a few jeers as to each other's strength and skill, when rowing; one party hailing their rivals with the titles of *bestie*, decrepit dotards, &c. &c. On landing, the traveller is accompanied to the inn by a band of four or five musicians, who continue playing for a short time after he has entered, and when the "crowning rose of the musical wreath," "God save the King;" has been performed, they receive a few pence and depart. In Malta music is made the announcement of every happy event in every family. If a traveller has returned, a law-suit been gained, a marriage celebrated, or on the occasion of a birth, or of the festival, consecrated to the saint protector of a family, or of the trade followed by such family (for every trade has its protecting saint), music is played before the door of the house, and the happiness of the inmates thus announced to their friends and neighbours.

On the next morning, we walked about the town; viewed the marine; the Castle of St Elmo, &c. The creeks are all fit for large vessels, and filled with incredible numbers of boats, crossing and recrossing. The quay is particularly fine. In it were seven or eight British ships of war: brigs and frigates. I was much struck by the fine appear-

ance of the English soldiers. The fortifications are immense; ditches cut from the solid rock; ramparts, of enormous breadth, &c.

The parade is a large square of gravel, declining to the north, between Florian and Valetta. One of the regiments, with band, &c., were exercising before Lieutenant-Governor Woodford. A number of soldiers were employed in covering the gravel with turf; and, since the Marquis's death, two rows of pits have been cut out of the soil and solid rock, about two feet each, the diameter of the pits being six feet or so. These pits have been dug preparatorily to planting an avenue of trees, along the wall of the botanical garden, which forms the southern boundary of the parade. This bringing turf to spoil an excellent parade, and planting trees on rocks, denotes a very vigorous administration. Singular abuses, occasional fits of absurdity, seize on the spirits of the men in power, and they project such schemes, as that just noticed of planting trees on rocks. The public service, or, in other words, the drilling of large bodies of troops, required much more ground than lies between the botanical garden and the ramparts; yet they take away the breadth of an avenue. This is not the first fault committed on the same ground. Between Florian and the Valetta fortifications, is a very large space, from a quarter to half a mile each way. There was room for manœuvring any number of troops, but some person in power,

whether since we have had the island, or before, it does not appear, contrived a walled promenade, or botanical garden, along the centre, dividing the parade, and filling up a good portion of the open space. This was absurd enough, and the addition of the avenue along the garden is an improvement on that absurdity. It would have been more like true vigour to have taken away the garden altogether, and restored the parade to its original size. Malta is a military government; yet they seem to act always as though they had only peace to contemplate. England should take a strong posture, beyond all chance of defeat or surprise. A small government in this island would be effective, if it consisted of men of business, talent, and experience. In such hands, Malta might soon pay its own expenses, and even reduce the taxes and import duties: at least so we were assured by many members of the mercantile body.

At midnight, we rose to see the remains of the Marquess of Hastings lying in state, but found the gates of the palace just shutting, and numbers of people in the square of the same.

Next morning there were crowds assembled in the palace square, to see the lying in state. The door was absolutely besieged. We got in, and ascended by the principal staircase to the Great Hall of St. Michael and St. George, where the body was placed. This is a very large and lofty room, with ranges of pillars on each side. It was

lighted by numerous lustres, and fitted up in black. At the end, and along the sides, was antient armour, painted black, the sombre and still appearance of which harmonized well with the occasion. The bust of the Marquis was placed at the end of the hall. This was said to be an excellent likeness. The face was a peculiar one, and expressive of much mildness and benevolence. The coffin stood on an oblong base, with several Latin inscriptions and spears, covered with crape. The orders possessed by the deceased were interwoven. Two military officers in mourning cloaks stood at either end. The crowds walked quietly round the open space set apart for them. There was not a person in Valetta, who did not go to see the body of the governor—some led by curiosity, others by idleness; others, and these not a few, by respect and gratitude.

This was the day appointed for the funeral of the governor. At two, all the balconies were much crowded, and the streets lined with spectators. The procession began to move at a quarter past two, and we had a good view of it from the top of the Ordnance Office, which faces the Strada Reale.

The regiments occupied the pavement along the rampart. The rifles appeared high above on the East Cavalier; the western was occupied by the artillery. Minute guns were fired with the setting

out, and during the continuance of the procession. Each band played with muffled drums.

The procession formed round the grave—the service was read, and the artillery fired—then each of the regiments in succession, which ended the ceremony. Never was one better conducted, more completely executed, more simple or imposing. It is said that the tears of all have followed the funeral of this governor. By some his benefits to the island are disputed; but his anxiety to do good, and his benevolence, are spoken of by all as having been unexampled. His great measure was the free pratique, and his most unpopular one, the raising the tax on imported corn from four to nine scudi per *salmo*. Those who blame him should bear in mind that he had not full powers, and was controuled by the ministry.

On coming out, the Marquis had most extensive plans, and went to England in order to get more ample powers, but returned more tied up than before. Six weeks after his first landing he went to England. He established the House of industry, and the free pratique, which last, undoubtedly a great measure, was only a concession to common sense on the part of the English government, not a boon obtained from the foreign governments; for, previously, Malta did not cause vessels from the coast to make a regular quarantine, and hence the place was considered infectious. Now all vessels make quarantine, as on the

continent, and free pratique is established. It was always in the power of the English government to get this system established; but they, from some cause or other, adhered to the imperfect quarantine.

Monday.—We walked to view the outer fortifications of St. Florian, and saw the House of Industry established by the Marquis of Hastings. There were in it seventy-six men and two hundred and forty-eight women. In the first room were a number of men preparing grass for making matts; in the second, old women winding cotton; in the third, cotton throwing, by machinery, driven by several little girls; in the next, little girls working matts and hats of straw and palm; in the next, a very long arched gallery below, filled with looms, where women were working coarse cotton cloth, and farther on were little girls spinning cotton. Some had spindle and wheel, driven by the hand, and intermitted in its motion; whilst others had a wheel for spinning flax, driven by the foot. Three large looms were fittting up for making carpets. The establishment is, in all its departments, neat, clean, and comfortable, but does not support its own expenses, though expected to do so.

Under the guidance of a person in an official jacket, we embarked for the Lazaretto, which is in an island, and consists of long ranges of building. At the terraces and windows were people under

quarantine, and about twenty vessels, of various sizes, lying in the quarantine harbour. They take different positions, according to the time which they have remained—the Blue Peter being hoisted in one on the point of sailing. The utmost caution is observed as to not touching any body or thing which can be considered infectious, such as cotton, &c. There is a place for smoking letters, and a court where cotton is depurated. The Lazaretto is very large and commodious, situated on the south-west declivity, close to the water, and rising from it. On the side opposite to Valetta is a long narrow bridge over the intervening water, with a sentinel; also on the north-east there is a fort.

We saw the cameleopard in the Lazaretto. It was only a year and a half old, and sent as a present from the Pacha of Egypt to the King of England. It was attended by two Arabians, dressed much in the Greek fashion. Their language resembles that of Malta.

Having taken calishes, we went to Citta Vecchia and Boschetta. The number of stone walls is such, that, unless you are on a height, the country appears nothing else. Passing St. Giuseppi, we saw a church on the right which had been struck by lightning. One tower was down, and the church entirely deserted—some say, on account of the lightning, others, because a murder had been committed there. We visited the St. Anto-

nio Gardens. There we saw a great display of verdure and fruitfulness; hedges of myrtle, orange-trees in prodigious numbers, and all loaded and yellow, lemon-trees, greenish, cypresses interspersed, twenty or thirty aloe-trees, large citrons, in fruit and flower at the same time, and rose-trees in full flower. The palace is a stone building, with stone floors, and every possible arrangement made for coolness. The rooms are lofty, as indeed they always are at Malta. We ascended to Citta Vecchia, and saw several crosses and pillars, with a half statue of a purgatorial sufferer, numbers of beggars and Ciceroni, several statues of St. Paul, &c. &c. As we were going to see the church of St. Paul, we met the archdeacon, and accompanied him to his house to see his manufactories of cotton. The gentleman thus curiously employed, was, during the French occupation, a General; he is now an Archdeacon; and, more than either, he is a cotton manufacturer. He has the greatest zeal for the improvement of cotton manufacture, which he indulges to give employment to the poor, and not for gain. On the contrary, he loses yearly five hundred scudi by his pursuits in this way. He is a man of the first family, and has been for thirty years occupied in planning cotton works for Malta. He shewed us rugs made from cotton, like those of wool, with figures such as ducks, dogs, swans, &c., admirably worked, and with a colouring unknown in England. He had

also cotton carpets in imitation of Turkey. One which had been twenty-eight years down in his own room, was still good. Some doylies, with armorial bearings, were admirably done. He employs forty workmen. The looms in his manufactory are all made from his own idea. That for the doylies is particularly ingenious. He makes every thing in the way of shirts, cloths, rugs, bed covers, girths, calishe covers, napkins, doylies, carpets, &c., and is indefatigable in devising new patterns. One of our party having observed, that, in his opinion, "Malta would never injure the English manufactures," the Archdeacon was highly incensed. He felt great distress that the manufactory must expire with him. The Archdeacon is professor in the college at Citta Vecchia.

Boschetta is a mile or more distant—a little valley, suddenly seen winding in the form of an arch. Along the road were orange, fig, and mulberry trees, and the locust tree. We lunched at the fountain below. A stone table and seats are placed in the centre. A recess, imitating rocks, and two arches in front, with a curious stone, said to be the very pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned for looking round upon Gomorrah. The walk along the valley is delightful. We ascended the hill, till we could see in part another vale like Boschetta.

The road from Boschetta to the old palace on the hill, is a straight ascent.

In Citta Vecchia we visited the prison of St. Paul, which is a dungeon in the rock. We descended thirty feet to it, and found a circular vault of fifteen or twenty feet, without light. Here St. Paul was confined three months. Adjoining is a chapel, also cut out of the rock, and containing a fine statue of St. Paul, also, a full sized Christ, brought from Rhodes by the knights. It is made of wood, and painted flesh-colour, representing Christ, bound, with a glory of brass round the head. The wood is perfectly rotten and spungy, so much so, that the feet have entirely disappeared. At the church of St. Paul, we found a person sent by the Archdeacon, to shew us through the edifice. It was all hung round with scarlet. We ascended the Cupola, and had a fine view of Valetta harbour, &c.

On Tuesday the 16th, we called on the Greek Papas, to get the key of the Church of St. Nicholas, on the Borgo, where we expected to find the tomb of Henry Valetta. This minister was dressed in black, and wore his beard very long. He shewed us his wife and two daughters, and invited us to accompany him to the other Greek church, in which he generally officiates, and which adjoins his own house. There he shewed us an antient picture of the Madonna and child, assuring us, that when the Christians fled before the Infidels, from Damascus to Rhodes, this picture, of its own accord, and without prayer or persuasion of any

kind on the part of the fugitive faithful, did set out with only one attendant, a solitary lantern, which preceded it to light the way, and they passed over the sea, following its former worshippers, till it arrived safely at Rhodes. It was subsequently brought to Malta, by the Greeks, who followed the fortunes of the knights, and till the building of Valetta, was kept in the original Greek Church on the Borgo. Finally, it was brought with great pomp and ceremony to its present station in the Greek Church beside the palace. The picture, which is about four feet by three, is covered with silver, except the heads of the Madonna and Child, both which are black, and their features scarcely distinguishable. The silvery covering is very massy, and ornamented; the hands of the Virgin are of raised pearls, the crown, of emeralds and other costly stones. On the side of the recess in which this picture is kept, are two other paintings; the one, the completion of the jack-o'-lantern journey to Rhodes, at the moment when the blessed gentlewoman's pictorial representative is entering the harbour: the other, the solemn procession of the knights, on removing it from the Borgo to Valetta. There is another painting, almost covered with silver, brought also from Rhodes, whence the pictures of St. Chrysostom and Basil, with a small Madonna, were brought. These last are in the Sanctum Sanctorum. The Papas put on his canonicals, and shewed us how

he celebrated mass, administered the sacrament, &c. He then favoured us with the sight of a silver hand, which he had caused to be made, with the bones of a saint's hand in it.

At twelve we attended the levee, which was exceedingly crowded with all sorts of dresses, military, naval, and clerical. There were Capuchins, Dominicans, and our friend the Papas. The last of the knights attended, dressed in a white court suit, with mother-of-pearl buttons, and wearing a sword and Maltese cross. He was great chamberlain to the grand master, and, had the order lasted, would in all probability have been his successor. The levee was very short, consisting merely of a walk through the rooms, a bow, and exit. Supposing that there were five hundred present, say each took half an hour to prepare, two hours to think and talk about going, half an hour more for contingencies, there are three times five hundred, or fifteen hundred hours, most advantageously employed.

We afterwards went over to the Borgo, and saw the arsenal, but could not find the tomb of Henry Valette in St. Nicholas. The Palace of the Inquisitors, which we visited, is a court of antient arches, in a modern palace, now used for the ordnance. There are some remains, as the dungeon, but the wall is built up. The officers of the eighty-fifth went into these cells, but built the door up again on their return, so that we had no opportunity of

seeing the dungeons. In journeying through the island, you are struck by the great number of crosses on the roads. There is one at the entrance of every casal. At one place, where a man was hanged one hundred and fifty years ago, the two square pillars are standing still; at another a cross in the wall denotes where a murder was committed. But the most singular memorials are two pillars, with iron cages at the top, in one of which is kept the head of a young man, who some years ago killed his brother, in returning from the procession of San Gregorio; in the other, the hand of a man who murdered a priest. It is questionable whether it be beneficial thus to perpetuate the memory of crime.

The churches of the various casals are fine structures. The famous cave of Mackluba is near to the Casal Crendi. It is difficult to account for the formation of this curious natural amphitheatre, except by saying that a great circle of rock, of five or six hundred feet in diameter, has suddenly sunk to the depth of one hundred feet, carrying the soil along with it, and forming at the bottom a level garden, surrounded on every side by perpendicular rocks. There is no descent but by a stair, almost all cut out of the rock, and this descent is rather a fearful one. The water, which in winter pours down into the subterranean garden, has worn away the steps. The abyss is directly below, and one slip of the foot would precipitate

you head long. After going down this broken stair for about sixty feet, you pass to the left for a fourth of the circumference, and get down by another stair. The garden occupies the whole of the bottom, which is of exactly the same size as the area at the top. Nothing in the world can be more strange than the sight—when from the centre you look round you on the rugged overhanging rocks, you seem sequestered in one of those imaginary retreats of hermits, where the world is shut out for ever. The soil of the garden is very rich. There are fig, pomegranate, and orange trees, vines, and ordinary fruits. In winter, the whole is frequently covered to a considerable depth with water, which gradually oozes away, there being no outlet. The rocks are red and grey, overhanging, very porous, and rugged. The shape of the cave is an oval, with perpendicular sides. At each end of the oval are terraces, which appear like the seats of this great amphitheatre. Birds frequently take shelter here during the night.

We were shown the armoury in the palace. The old pikes had been cut down to ornament the ceremony of the state funeral. A few supernumerary ones, so cut, were lying on the floor, as were also two suits of armour, painted black for the same occasion. The pikes of antient warriors, those relics of a chivalrous antiquity were cut for use in a paltry and puerile ceremony. This is barbarous, and is, on a small scale, an imitation of

those who quarry in temples and colosseums, for the materials for dwellings that are only to last a few summers. There are several suits of armour in this room; one at the end inlaid with gold, belonged to the grand master. There are twelve thousand six hundred stands of arms in the armoury, many suits of the antient armour also range round the whole two hundred feet room, the first of knights, the second of soldiers. Some of the suits are beaten by balls. There are also antient powder-horns, a cannon, wound with cords, and a case of brass inside, &c. &c.

On Monday, the 15th, we went through the palace. The tapestry room is neat and large, and the suite of apartments sufficiently simple. The picture of Vignacourt, by Caravaggio, is good. One of Valette represents him in armour, with a red shirt descending nearly to the knees, a large white cross before, and another on the shoulder. In his hand is a plumed helmet, and around him several other knights of the order. We saw some old frescoes, relative to the more antient history of the order, the departure from Rhodes, arrival at Malta &c. &c.

We went to St. Julian's, and saw the cannon in the rock at St. Julian's Bay. The diameter of the excavation is five feet and a half, and the depth about ten. A barrel of powder was to be put into a large and deep hole in the centre of the bottom, and the body to be filled with stones, &c.;

then, by means of a canal which runs down the side, this tremendous engine was to be exploded, and at the moment of a disembarkment being attempted, was to scatter a shower of stones and missiles among the enemy. A little way on to St. George's Bay we saw another, the diameter of which was about five feet and a half, and the depth about twelve.

On Sunday, the 14th, we walked to Marsa Sirocco, passing through Zeitun. We started in a boat, and saw the excavation in the side of St. Angelo rock, where a bath had formerly been for the pages of the grand master. There is a fine church at Zeitun; a little way out of the town is the church of St. Gregorio the elder, whither a procession, in honour of the Saint, was going, with music, dancing and other such marks of devotion.

The Countess Bettina's house was pointed out to us. This lady had an African slave, who was redeemed with the money laid aside by the Turks for ransoming those made prisoners by the knights. This slave returned, and very nearly succeeded in carrying off the lady, who possessed great wealth. He was, however, stopped on the shore, and recognized. The Countess then ordered a ditch to be dug round her house, and ever after, to prevent surprise, kept the drawbridge raised. The circumstance here related, occurred about fifty years ago.

On the pedestal of the statue of St. Andrew at

Marsa, there is a small hole, through which oil is poured, to be used for the lamp above. Within the statue is a large pot, which is taken out through a door opening at the back of the figure. The same thing is seen in one of the convents at Valetta.

In the church of San Lorenzo, we sought, but in vain, for the monument of Henry Valette. In the Greek church however, we discovered a sword and hat, which his uncle the immortal grand master had vowed, on the raising of the siege in 1565. The sword is very long—about thirty-eight inches in the blade. The hat is broad-rimmed, and covered with silk. It is inclosed in a locked case, on which is the following inscription: "Emmanuel Rohanus, Magnus ordinis hujus magister sacellum deiparæ virgini conservatrici sacrum vetustate collapsum cum omni cultu restituit anno CIↃIↃCCXXIX, idemque providentia sua cavit ut injuria superiorum temporum neglecti decentiore loco servarentur ensis, et galerus quos Johannes Valetta, ejusdem ordinis supremus magister, anno CIↃIↃLXV, Turco devicto, militari obsidione soluta, republica bene gesta servataque, jubens et lætus sospitæ deigenetrici, suspenderat."

The antient Palazzo Vescovili, said to have been used for the pious purposes of the Holy Inquisition, has a number of dark and hideous looking dungeons, well suited for such an object. We saw an inscription on the wall, of a young man

who states himself to have been imprisoned by sentence of the "Corte Criminal Vescovile," which condemned him to remain immured until he should marry a young woman to whom he had given parola and aveva desonovata: he entered on the 27th of July, 1823, and got out, by *grazie*, on the 23rd January, 1825. He declared his determination not to marry, though they should imprison him under ground, *essendo un giovane*, who cared little per piaceri di questo mondo.

Sunday.—We attended mass at St. John's. The Maltese ladies, all in faldettes, were in front; the gentlemen behind. A Capuchin friar, in the habit of his order, preached an animated sermon, with redundant gesticulations. We then went to the English church, and in all that attracts and fixes the attention, the latter appeared extremely dull, as compared with the former. The prayers were ill-read, and the attendance thin. The clergyman, a young man, was stiff, cold, and conceited, quite the opposite of the eloquent and zealous capuchin. The capuchin entered the pulpit in a dress fit for the first of orators—simple, and such as the apostles wore in their poverty. He seemed to be deeply impressed with the duties of his function, to consider the persons assembled around him—he saw but a congregation of christian souls, for whose future well being he was the humble but enthusiastic labourer. Not bold, but dignified; the very manner in which he grasped the pulpit,

and began without preface, showed that he thought more of his subject than his judges. He commanded attention by the look and bearing of piety and wisdom, not by earthly rank or honours. The English clergyman, on the other hand, was dressed out in the newest fashion; his collar stiff and exorbitant; his hair, a mop fresh from the barber; his voice newly come from the drawing-room; and seeming afraid to proclaim the great truth, or astonished to find itself so employed. He had no action but turning over the leaves—no inflection but a semitone. Youth is certainly no discredit—yet it should not appear in public, and usurp important functions, unless Nature has given it the manhood of intellect. With what authority can the sacred doctrines come from the mouth of feeble youth—with what effect can twenty years instruct seventy! Can the passions of youth teach morality to husbands and fathers, or the crude maxims of a schoolboy convey wisdom to experience and greyhairs?

One evening, when going along the Strada Forni, we encountered the procession for extreme unction. This was the second time that we had seen the ceremony. A boy had dreadfully burnt himself, by setting fire to some spirits. He was on the point of dying, and the extreme unction was to be administered to him. Every one in the street, on hearing the bell, which was carried by one in the procession, came to the balconies,

where it is customary, on such occasions, to keep a candle burning. In this manner, the street was suddenly illuminated. A number of people, in two lines, go in front, each carrying a lantern. Behind these, and under a canopy, walks the priest, bearing the Host, and attended by four other functionaries, all arrayed in full robes. Torches are kept burning on either side, while the crowd follow, singing hymns and prayers. The bell rings slowly all the way along the streets, warning the inhabitants to place their dedicated lights in the balcony, until the procession arrives at the house of the dying; when, falling on their knees, the people sing more loudly than ever to the Host, which is carried from under the canopy, and taken, covered by a sort of silken parasol, into the chamber of the patient. While the ceremony of extreme unction is being performed within, the followers of the procession remain on their knees in solemn silence. The sad ceremony being concluded, the dying man has some chance of expiring in peace and silence; the Host is re-conveyed with the same solemnity to the canopy, and the procession slowly takes its way back to the church. This ceremony is more or less splendid, according to the rank of the sick person.

Sunday.—A new priest was made in the church of St. John. The bishop, archdeacon, and all the Maltese clergy were present at the ceremony, which was witnessed by an immense crowd. The

new priest, after his consecration, came to the railing in front of the altar, where he stood while all the people in the church crowded to kiss his hand. Many hundreds went through this ceremony, which had all the appearance of an English court levee.

The Catholic is the established religion at Malta; and the inhabitants are, generally speaking, very rigid observers of its ordinances—as confession, abstinence, fasting,—and no less of the feasting during the Carnival. The foolery and dissipation of "this farewell to flesh" fully justify the opinion

* In the days of the order, the conversion of Turkish slaves and prisoners was a favourite method adopted by the knights for perplexing his Satanic Majesty in time of peace. One of the Turks, thus brought over to the true faith, found fish dinners a very unpleasant part of Catholic observance, and hit upon an expedient for quieting his stomach without alarming his conscience. In pursuance of this happy discovery, he was devouring beef on a Friday, when his master suddenly entered the apartment, and, beholding the heretical meal, commenced a very edifying homily on the enormous sin committed by his proselyte. The latter with great gravity replied, "I am eating a fish: I baptized it a Lampuchi, (a *kind* of fish common at Malta) before cooking it. My name was Mustapha, when I arrived at Malta, a Turkish slave—you baptized me Giovanni Battista, and I became a Christian."

Another of these reclaimed sinners adopted an equally singular method of supplying the vacuum left within him by the very meagre fare of his Christian master. Near the house was a church, on the east side of which a lamp is constantly kept burning, before one of the figures of the Virgin. The Turk every night dipped his bread into the lamp, and thus carried off a large portion of the oil for his bonne-bouche at supper. The sexton, unable to account for the increased nocturnal consumption of the Virgin's oil, gave it out that a miracle had come to pass, and the priests, who know sufficiently that

formed by the Turks, who call the Carnival the time when the Christians go mad. In Malta, these extravagances are not now so great as formerly—a change attributable not to any increase of wisdom, but to a decrease of the means requisite for their indulgence. The churches at Malta are very fine. Even those of the several casals would not disgrace the taste or devotion of populous cities. St. John's has nothing remarkable in its external structure, but the interior is worthy of attention from the traveller. The pavement, in particular, may be called perfectly unique, being formed of the tomb-stones of the different knights of the order. These are of variously coloured marbles, representing armorial bearings and sepulchral devices, and each bearing a Latin inscription, relating the name, country, achievements, &c. of the knight. In this church there are also the monuments of several Grand Masters, and some of the statues adorning them are very fine specimens of the art. Two are especially admired. They are of marble, and almost colossal; one representing a Turk, the other a black, both loaded

miracles are never worked without the connivance of their reverences, commanded the sexton to watch in a dark corner, and report to them what he should see. He did so—and behold, at the usual hour, the christianized Turk appeared before the lamp, and after praying most devoutly to the holy Virgin, rose, and humbly requested that she would be pleased to allow him a dip into her lamp—to which he very graciously replied on her part—"Yes, you may:" whereupon he dipped his bread as usual, and was knocked down by the sexton.

with chains, and in a kneeling posture. The statues behind the great altar, representing the baptism of Christ by St. John, are a fine colossal group, in white marble. The side altars are also adorned by marble statues, and the nave is arched and painted with subjects from scripture. At the end is a figure standing, holding the banner of Malta, unfurled. There is much gilding about the church, some of which is considerably worn away. On grand festivals, the nave is hung with splendid tapestry, painted with scriptural subjects. St. Paul's Church is next in consideration to that of St. John, and is remarkably beautiful in the interior. The cathedral of Citta Vecchia is also a fine edifice. The interior is hung round with flowered silk and gold lace, and here, as in St. John's, there are two thrones, one for the bishop, and the other, formerly reserved for the Grand Master, and now kept for the King of Great Britain and Ireland, whenever it may please His Majesty to visit his Maltese dominions. On any great occasion, when the governor goes to any of these churches, a chair is erected beside the royal throne. The churches of Borcarcara and Zeitun, the St. Dominican, at Valetta, and the three principal churches in the three cities of Vittorioso, Cospicua, and Singlea, are also large and well built.—The clergy are very numerous in Malta, indeed, proportionably to the population, as much so as in Rome. In almost every family, one son is destined for the

priesthood; and it is no unusual thing to see boys, at a very early age, dressed out as clergymen—in a three-cornered hat, long black coat or surtout, knee-breeches, and buckled shoes. We saw one of these embryo pastors, whose age could not have exceeded five years. Many of these, however, grow into a different idea of their true destination, and abandon the clerical calling, always taking care to complete their college studies before they declare themselves, which they are not called upon to do before their twenty-third year, when the sacerdotal vows are administered. In many cases, the younger sons of families put on the costume, and are entered at college as clerical students, in order to enjoy the rent of some small estate, which has been bequeathed by their ancestors, for the express purpose of defraying the expenses of such member of the family as might be destined for the church; the family retaining the patronage of the living. The convents and monasteries at Malta are by no means favourite places of abode. For instance, the convent of St. Ursula, which is a commodious building, three stories in height, and, together with the church, covering a square of forty-five paces each way, is inhabited by some five or six ladies, remnants from the olden time. There are not more than eight monasteries, and these are tenanted by the lower orders of the people. Neither the convents nor monasteries are rich, and this may naturally account for the small

number of inmates—seeing that the holy brothers and sisters seldom renounce the world without a tolerable security of a sweet retirement, in which they may find rest to their souls. The outward and visible signs of grace are observed in this island with a scrupulosity unsurpassed by the devotees of Italy or Spain. In the week before Easter, the people put on mourning for three days; altars set round with skulls and cross bones are seen in the churches, and to these the faithful flock to pray for pardon, and in some cases to do penance. The penitents wear a white dress, are barefooted, and drag a heavy chain at their ankles, and, having perambulated in this pleasant way, as often as their spiritual physician shall have prescribed, the purification of their immortal souls is effected, and nothing remains but to begin anew. A favourite saint, for intercessions and "all that," is the *Donna del Carmine*, who is always attended by a crowd of applicants for assistance in their bodily and spiritual necessities. On the first Sunday after the Carnival, there is a *festa* at the Casal Zabar, and, in the church, all the women who, during the festivities, had worn a mask, make it their duty to attend, in order to give thanks to some saint for his kindness and forbearance in not having caused the masks to stick to their faces for ever.—The saints have no reason to complain of neglect at Malta; there is always a festival going on in honour of one or other of

them. One of the most splendid is that of St. Gregorio, which commemorates the cessation of a violent plague that raged in Malta more than one hundred and fifty years ago. The plague having ceased on this Saint's day, all the fraternities in the island are required to attend a procession, through the several Casals, to Casal Zeitun. The procession, which is very splendid and attractive, finishes about mid-day, and immediately the pious Catholics make a simultaneous attack upon the provisions, devouring with a zest which would have done honour to the primitive Christians. The festival of Saints Peter and Paul is also celebrated in great style at Citta Vecchia. About nine o'clock in the morning, high mass is said in the cathedral, at which the bishop and the governor usually attend, with a crowd of fashionables, strangers, &c. About mid-day, the people go to the Boschetto in crowds, to eat their dinners under the orange-trees. Music, dancing, and singing follow the repast, and the affair is kept up till about four o'clock, when the Boschetto. which is distant about a mile and a half from Citta Vecchia, becomes deserted, all being eager for the races, which begin at six. La Valletta has also its races on St. Rocco's day, and St. Gozo on that of St. Maria. Such is the fondness of the Maltese for these festivals, that in many of the marriage contracts among the country people, it is expressly stipulated that the husband shall, every year, take

his wife to Boschetto and Zeitun, or St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Gregorio. Each Casal has a grand festival on the day of its protecting Saint, and each has also a grand display of fire-works in front of the church on some Saints' days during the summer season.—Generally speaking, the Maltese are very religious, more particularly the women, and, as not seldom happens with devotees, they are superstitious believers in ghosts, miracles, &c. They conceive that every house has its *genii*, which, in Maltese, are called *har-is-ta-dar*. Such is their belief in this imaginary being, that a Maltese family of the poorer class, not long since, changed their residence four times in the course of a year or so, and at length returned to the house which they had formerly occupied. An English lady inquired of the woman what cause she could have for changing her abode so frequently, and then returning to her old house. She replied that the different *har-is-ta-dars* had an aversion to their remaining; that in one of the houses she had fallen down stairs, and much injured herself; in another, a child of hers had died; she had scalded her hand, and heard marvellous noises at night, in a third; her husband had been unwell, and her trinkets had been lost in a fourth. They have a singular remedy for what they call *scanto*, a fright, or, more properly, the uneasiness felt on being made acquainted with an unpleasant event. A puppy of a few weeks old is popped alive into a pan of

boiling water, and after having boiled for some hours, the pan is set to cool. The puppy, when cold, is suddenly thrown into the face of the person who has taken *scanto*, and he is then presented with the soup, having drunk which, he is relieved. This practice is, of course, only in use with the lower classes.—The Maltese are really a very laborious people. The men are of the middle height, active, hardy, cheerful, and well disposed. Their dress consists of a knitted worsted cap, red, blue, or sometimes purple, the top folding back;* a blue checked shirt, waistcoat and trowsers. They usually wear the jacket merely thrown over the shoulder, and, if employed, they lay it by. It is worthy of remark, that a servant will not carry a basket or bundle through the streets, as in so doing his dignity would be compromised. He, therefore, employs a porter, or market boy. An English lady, having in winter found it convenient to use a muff, an article of dress unknown to the Maltese, was surrounded by the market urchins, all contending for the job of carrying the supposed bundle. The women walk generally in parties of three or four, and both rich and poor dress for the most part in black silk. In the country the same

* Red was formerly the favourite colour for caps; but Judge Wright having ordered that the hangman, who had previously operated in a Sicilian dress, and black hat, should thenceforth appear in a Maltese costume, with a red cap, the colour lost favour among the better classes of the peasantry. The hair is worn in locks, long, and sometimes reaching down to the shoulders.

costume, that of the faldetta, is worn by the women, but made of cotton manufactured on the island. The faldetta is thrown over the head, and reaches half way down the back. This national costume is, however, giving way to the English and French fashions, which are now worn almost universally by young ladies at schools, &c. The Maltese women are lively, intelligent, and generally well looking, and their conversation is not eternally descriptive of the past, present, and probable state of the weather.

The men in Malta may be said, without much exaggeration, to talk of nothing but law, which in their eyes assumes a greater importance than commerce itself. Many of the Maltese engage in a lawsuit, purely for the pleasure they experience in carrying it on. So litigious are they, that in some cases the will of a testator is so worded, that his heirs are to enjoy certain property, only on condition of their carrying on such or such a lawsuit. The best proof of the law mania in Malta is the number of courts, now in full activity. The police court is in two branches, one for criminal, the other for civil causes, such as the decision of disputed claims under a certain amount. There are Courts of Assizes, for criminal and civil cases of smaller importance; the Commercial Court, Appeal Court, Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Court, Marine Police Court, Admiralty Court, and Piracy Court. The Bishop's Court must also be

noticed. This court, at Malta, has great power. All matters relating to the church are cognizable there only, as also all civil matters, where the defendant is in orders. From all the decrees of this court, there lies an appeal to Rome. Sometimes the jurisdiction is criminal, but chiefly it relates to the fulfilment of marriage promises, payment of fees, &c. Imprisonment in this court goes under the softened name of *avirtimento*. It has jurisdiction in ecclesiastical and matrimonial cases, in which latter, a man may, by sentence of this court, have his wife, who has been unfaithful, immured in a convent for life, or for any term which he may think fit to sue for. Sir T. Maitland passed a law, by which it was enacted, that in four years from the date thereof, the proceedings of the law courts should be transacted in English instead of Italian. But this law has proved a dead letter, and is likely to continue so, till English becomes more generally spoken among the people. The better class of society send their children to English schools to learn the language; and all who wish to be employed by government secure this necessary acquisition, as a preference is always given to the candidate so qualified. By the Maltese law with regard to marriages, the portion which a woman brings to her husband is held sacred; and, in the event of his failing in trade, her claim takes precedence of all others, and is paid in full. This law has been often most vil-

lainously abused. An unprincipled trader, on his marriage, has the contract made out by a notary, in which is set forth, that he received such, or such a sum in dowry with his wife: if it be necessary to count out the money before the notary, the parties may borrow it for the occasion. In five or six years this trader fails, his wife comes forward with her claim contained in the marriage contract, and carries off the estate, leaving the creditors without a shilling. In most of the marriage contracts it is agreed upon, that the bridegroom shall remain as a guest in the family of the bride for two or four years, free of expense. The *parola*, or promise of marriage, is often given many months before the ceremony; a woman may break this parola if she should alter her mind, but the man is irrevocably bound.

No part of the island, which could possibly be brought under cultivation, has been neglected. The soil of Malta is fruitful; and where richest, yields two crops a year. In many parts, enormous labour was requisite, in order to effect this. It is necessary that the ground should be perfectly level, otherwise the rains in the winter season would carry off the soil to the bottom of the valley. Hence, high walls are built, the ground levelled, &c., so that, in passing through the country, you see only high walls rising one above the other; but, on reaching the summit of a hill, you perceive the fields, or rather small plots of ground, into which

the soil is parcelled. Some years ago, a gentleman was shooting in the winter time, down at the Salinus, after a very heavy rain, and having got sight of some wild ducks, followed in that direction, but lost his birds, when he met a countryman, who seemed searching for something with a most melancholy countenance. The man, on being asked if he had seen three ducks, replied,—"Three ducks! I care not for them; I am looking for three fields of mine. I find not a particle of soil, but merely stones and rocks where they were!"

The gardens are protected by very high walls, and produce abundance of the most luxurious fruits. The Malta oranges are thought to be the best in Europe: large quantities of them are annually exported. The trees, unless protected by walls or hills, do not thrive at Malta, owing to the sea air. The only verdant growth to please the eye is the locust tree, which is in leaf all the year round. This want of trees gives the island a very desolate appearance, to remedy which many mulberry trees have of late been planted.

There are few species of animals in Malta which are not common in the British isles. Lizards are very numerous, as are the land rats. At Boschetta, a gentleman observed some nests of the same construction as the magpie's, but somewhat smaller. On asking a Maltese boy what birds' nests these were, he was answered that they were not birds, but rats' nests, and to prove this,

the boy began pelting at one of them, from which he dislodged four rats. These animals live on trees, in order to avoid the stoat: a rat, on seeing one of these, becomes stupified, and makes no resistance. Goats are very numerous and serviceable at Malta, as are the asses, which are of a very large breed. The dog called "the Maltese," is seldom met with.

Every respectable person, and even the shopkeepers, at Malta, have their country houses, which are called *giardino*, from the garden invariably attached to them. The sole designation of these houses is the "giardino" of such a person. In the summer months they are occupied, and at other seasons the proprietors visit them on Sundays and festas. St. Antonio, the country palace of the governor, is very large, and in good repair. The gardens are extensive, furnishing annually several hundred boxes of oranges for exportation. These are sent to the members of the royal family, and the chief employés in England. When a proprietor visits his "giardino," he acquaints the neighbours of his arrival by hoisting a flag, which is the signal for his friends to call at the Casal.

The climate at Malta is salubrious and clear. In the summer months the heat is so great, that many of the poor people sleep in the street all night, by preference. Occasionally, the inhabitants are annoyed by a sirocco wind, which makes the streets damp, excepting on the Barbary coast,

where it has a contrary effect. Wines bottled during the prevalence of this wind, will not keep: beef, if salted, spoils, and any thing painted with oil never after dries.

The Maltese language, properly so called, is a dialect of the Arabic, interspersed with scraps of Italian. A native Maltese has no difficulty in understanding the Arabs from Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, or Egypt; but these latter do not so readily understand the language of Malta. As a written language, the Maltese is not used, though the natives have songs, several grammars, and a dictionary, in this idiom. Lately, the missionaries published part of the New Testament in Maltese, not, however, in Arabic, but Italian characters. With regard to these same Missionaries, it would be quite as well that the good folks of the Bible Societies at home should know something of the proceedings of their functionaries abroad. The inconceivable farce of these Bible Societies has gone on so long, that any attempt at shewing the true state of the matter has but little chance of success. Yet such attempts should assuredly be made and reiterated, till the blind and pillaged devotee be couched, and at length convinced of the unprincipled robbery hitherto practised upon him. The best feelings of the pious Christian in England are excited by the lazy leeches who live by prating of eternal death and mental darkness, which they pretend to be spread over every

country, where the doctrine is somewhat different from their own. Thus these sable numskulls become possessed of sums, which the industrious poor of England, who cannot procure labour, would receive with heartfelt gratitude, and manifest advantage. And how are these sums appropriated? Are they not so spent as to illustrate the poet's remark, on those who are—

> "reverend,
> Touching their spiritual functions, not their lives?"

What satisfactory account has ever been given by any declamatory vagabond, from any part of the Mediterranean, save and except that, "by the blessing of God, for which he daily and nightly puts up his prayers, he has great hopes, expectations, visions, and vast designs of bettering" those who, in all probability, are far better than himself? The Biblical bamboozlement has had a fair trial, and has failed. Then, in the name of religion and true charity, let the whole tribe of Missionaries be disbanded, and the money now unprofitably squandered in salaries, be henceforth spent in averting desperation from the starving parishes of England.

Before quitting the subject of Malta, a few reflections upon its past and present state may not be thought irrelevant. The following are the names of the places of which the government consists, with a statement of the number of inhabit-

ants in each, according to the census taken in 1827:—

Valetta and Florian	26,755
Vittorioso, Singlea, and Cospicua	19,532
Casal Zieun	5,623
—— Bircarcara	5,612
—— Forni	4,095
—— Zebug	4,992
—— Musta	3,000
—— Zurrico	3,509
—— Zabar	3,477
—— Seggeui	3,346
—— Naxar	2,994
—— Luca	1,393
—— Crendi	1,091
—— Asciah	1,216
—— Lia	1,210
—— Gargur	1,160
—— Tarxen	1,049
—— Gudea	1,022
—— Attard	906
—— Micabiba	806
—— Babyan	629
—— Safi and Chercop	565
	100,274
Island of Gozo	16,216
Malta and Gozo	116,490

The knights of St. John came to Malta, after having been driven by the Turks from Rhodes. The valorous exploits of the knights are matter of history; the services rendered by them to Malta will not be forgotten while the impregnable fortifications of the island remain. The French would in all probability have failed in their attempt to gain possession of Malta, had not treachery effected their object. Of the knights, the greater number were French, and on the breaking out of the revolution, their possessions in France were seized by the new government. This was a terrible blow to the order, and was speedily followed up by another, the Italian possessions being sacrificed in like manner, after the success of the French arms in Italy. Many of the French knights embraced revolutionary principles, and weary of the state of things consequent on the seizure of their estates, invited the revolutionary government to Malta, thinking that any change must be for the better. This invitation was not long unanswered. The army for the Egyptian expedition was ordered to take Malta, *en passant*, and accordingly the French fleet was soon seen off the island. The Maltese were not willing to allow a descent to be made, but prepared for resistance, when the disaffection of the French knights neutralized their efforts, and spread confusion among the soldiery and people. Bonaparte, with his usual dissimulation, pretended, in his communication addressed to the

grand master, that the French fleet only wanted to procure water, and requested that the ships might be allowed to enter the harbour. The answer was, that only four or five ships at a time would be permitted to enter. On the following day, the French commenced landing their troops, to which an ineffectual resistance was made, but the activity of their emissaries in persuading the Maltese of the vast advantages of being "citoyens," and of the impossibility of coping with the *grande nation*, as, also, the no less persuasive mouths of a park of artillery, pointed against the towns, rendered all hope of resistance out of the question. Several of the faithful knights had been murdered in Valetta, and the grand master seeing things thus desperate, was induced to capitulate with the French. These latter took possession of the place, stipulating to pay a considerable sum annually to the grand master, a condition which they were careful never to fulfil. Shortly after Bonaparte left Malta, with five thousand men as a garrison, and carried off the soldiers who had been in pay of the order. For a few months the French government went on well enough: but when money became scarce with them, they commenced pillaging the churches of plate, and other valuables, a course which naturally created them many enemies. It was an act of this kind which gave rise to the revolt against them. At Cetta Vecchia the plate thus plundered was seized by

the revolters, and the garrison, amounting to one hundred, killed to a man. The French held out in Valetta for about two years after this event. They made only one sortie, and in this were unsuccessful. The English fleet blockaded them by sea, while on the land side the Maltese continued the siege, till the French were obliged to capitulate, there not being a day's provision of any kind remaining. The flesh of dogs, horses, mules, and rats, was thought a great dainty, and sold for four shillings per pound. The French garrison returned home under convoy, leaving the island in the hands of the English, on the understanding that the possession of it should be finally adjudged to the right claimant. Of these the King of Sicily was one, and the knights also wished to regain possession, which indeed was promised them by our government. However, it being clear that the peace of Amiens could not continue, the delivery of it to the knights was deferred from time to time. This delay afforded Napoleon a pretext for renewing hostilities, and since that time we have retained possession of Malta. When the Maltese placed themselves under the protection of the English, they stipulated to have a *Consiglio Popolare*, or colonial assembly, to regulate the affairs of the government, enact laws, &c., and how this can be avoided without breaking faith with a confiding people, it is difficult to conceive. Yet as the fulfilment of such a promise must ne-

cessarily interfere with ministerial patronage, the probability is, that the *Consiglio Popolare* will never be granted. Still such an assembly would be of manifest advantage, for it can hardly be imagined that the native Maltese would evince the monstrous apathy and recklessness which is shown under the present system, for all that regards the true interests of the island.

Since the English have had possession, no new fortifications have been attempted, nor has any great anxiety been shewn for the preservation of the works made to their hands. The cannon were formerly all of brass, but these have been gradually taken away since the English have had the island. The Maltese complain bitterly of this, saying that the English take every thing, offices and employments, the domains of the knights, and, last not least, the very guns were taken. Year after year they have gradually disappeared, and the whole range of the fortifications manned, at the time of the French capitulation, with one thousand brass cannon, is all now cleared. Only the two great cavaliers facing St. Florian, are set with a few still left. Many of the port-holes have been since filled up, and the remainder supplied with cast iron cannon, which are understood to be in many respects superior to the brass. The reason alleged for this unpopular measure of removal, was, that English artillery were accustomed to English guns, and English balls to English

bores. But it may be asked, where are those English guns? The fortifications are half dismantled. Less than two hundred (about a fifth of the original number) are mounted on the walls of the Lavalette, Florian, and the three cities, on the other side of the harbour. This dismantling is still going on. The two cavaliers are perhaps about to lose the last remains of one more instance of the splendour of the knights. Why needlessly wound the pride of the Maltese, who have not yet forgotten their military sovereigns, or that the island was named, "il fiore del mondo?"—but, worse than this, why give them just ground to complain that the English have robbed them of their means of defence? Not a gun should have been removed, till they were prepared to replace it by another. If it was sound policy to replace the brass ordnance, and exchange it for iron, still it was clearly a robbery to commence the plan, and stop where every thing was gained and nothing given. It may be true, that like the clergy, who are said to preach well only from their own pulpits, the English balls kill well only from English guns; yet it is assuredly better to hold forth from a neighbour's pulpit, than to remain dumb altogether. This neglect cannot be said to arise from any scarcity of official functionaries, for at Malta these are found in most unnecessary numbers; sufficient indeed to manage the interests of an empire—heads of government, departments made, all Eng-

lish, with salaries of from two hundred to fifteen hundred pounds a year, exist in careless indolence living instances of the liberality of the mother country, which pampers such excrescences. How should this be otherwise, while, not to mention the unbounded influence of the colonial secretary or sovereign, every new governor of a colony, feeling an anxious and natural solicitude for the advancement of his family interests, must, if there be not a place vacant, make a new one for his purpose. People at home have little or no notion of that manner of administering colonial affairs, which entails such enormous and needless expenditure upon the mother country. By the present system, neither Britain nor her possessions are benefited; the only advantages of it are reaped by the government officers, and, to say truth—"the harvest is indeed great, and the labourers not a few." Let us take the instance more immediately under consideration here. The revenue of Malta, even in these times of commercial distress, amounts to about one hundred and ten thousand pounds a year; nearly every shilling of which is spent in salaries to official gentlemen, for the soldiers are paid from home, as are also the people employed in the ordnance docks, &c. No useful works are carried on by the government, either for the comforts of the Maltese, or the security of Malta, but every possible opportunity is seized for appropriating money in patronage—that

is, in paying salaries to persons whose only claim is that of family connexion, or interest with the powers that be. Would it be believed in England, that the property, or rental, of the Maltese university, has been appropriated to the service of the state—leaving only a small annual pittance for the purposes of the establishment? Can such an act receive the sanction of the ministry at home? If so, then to little purpose has that hollow praise for generosity been purchased, for which we have paid so dearly whenever opportunity presented itself. A new state of things is absolutely necessary at Malta. The island cannot pay the expenses of being governed after the present fashion. Half the people now employed, might be advantageously spared, and the salaries of those that remain should be reduced one half, not excepting that of the governor, whose seven thousand five hundred pounds a year, is a most incongruous allowance for such an island as Malta. We have an excellent national opinion of ourselves, and of everything connected with our laws, institutions, &c.; and with reason. But the laws and institutions which are so advantageous at home, have not an equally good effect when partially and injudiciously introduced among our colonial subjects. Englishmen doubtlessly believe that Malta enjoys every possible privilege and advantage under English rule—they may be assured that it does enjoy all the privileges and advantages which would speedily lead

to a new performance of the Sicilian vespers, were not the natives well aware that England possesses the dominion of the sea, and that, consequently, every attempt at shaking off the yoke must prove abortive. The island could not possibly be worse governed than it now is. Does the government show any disposition to protect trade, encourage manufactures, or improve the state of agriculture?—Assuredly not. Machinery might be introduced under its auspices, for cotton spinning, &c., seeing that private individuals, who would gladly avail themselves of this powerful aid, are deterred by the risk of the original speculation. The agricultural implements in use could be easily replaced by supplies from home, but the government confines its cares in husbandry to the wringing the same rent from lands now, as was yielded in time of war. Nor is it the least grievance, in the eyes of the Maltese, that they are shut out from the posts of honour and emolument, which are exclusively filled by English emigrants. With regard to the poorer classes in Malta, their situation and prospects are really frightful. Numbers die of starvation—many are brought to the hospital ill of fevers, arising solely from want of food, and the faithful and well disposed population of this once flourishing island, are, it seems, to be offered living victims on the altar of pampered and wasteful luxury. Yet, surely, this is not the wish of the legislature at home. Their timely inter-

ference may check the devastating influence of misrule, in possessions which have too long been left to the mercy of heedless delegates, and which, by such interference, may yet be made to enjoy the blessings unquestionably attendant on British protection, when faithfully administered.

I got a balanza, that is, a round boat, of thirty-four tons, and only waited for the weather. In the meantime, the gaieties of Malta began to revive. The mourning for the late governor had just expired—people were crowding the business of the last month into the balls, galas, and exhibitions of the approaching carnival. But these joyful preparations received a sudden check, and mourning became again the order of the day. Intelligence arrived of the Duke of York's death, and when we set sail the minute guns were firing. Here was a somewhat singular coincidence; we landed at Malta when the corpse of the Marquis of Hastings was lying in the harbour. Then a real gloom pervaded the place. A great man, a good governor, had died, and with him the hope of the unfortunate Maltese. We left Malta when all the parade of conventional grief was going on for the Duke of York. The great standard of England was out on the palace, a strange sight, when we consider what banners have floated there. Could the great

Valette have believed that his city would one day belong to that nation which gave him but two knights to maintain the contest with the infidels, in commemoration of which the city was built? Yet such has been the course of events. The English possess the palaces of the knights, and, in justice to them be it said, that, with less ambitious titles, with less parade of chivalry, they have outstripped the knights of St. John, and have fulfilled the ends for which that order was maintained, but which it never accomplished. They have cleared the Mediterranean of Infidel pirates. Barbary no longer sends out her bands of sea-robbers; the meanest flag is respected; even the Papal rag is seldom insulted. This is a real benefit to Christendom, and, of itself, should secure Malta to the English. The common interest requires, that it be in the possession of the first naval power. One more duty, however, remains to be performed,—the clearing the seas from Christian pirates. Take away from Greece the shame of being the successor of Tunis and Algiers. But, to return. There was more than the external form of grief for the Duke of York: all mourned the loss of the generous soldier, and the reformer of the army.

After having been detained by the weather, and the superstition of the mariners, for ten days, we set sail in the above mentioned balanza, at sunset; and a more melancholy sunset could not easily be conceived. The heavy sounds boomed at inter-

vals from St. Angelo, in memory of the departed prince; and as the echo ran from the castle to the city, the inhabitants were idly gazing over the harbour, waiting the next flash and rebound. We lay below, three cities around us. But it was time to set out; the savage and superstitious crew had hoisted their sails; the Capuchin and Franciscan had presented their box for alms, and promised to pray the Virgin for a happy voyage. Gradually, Malta, vision like, sank away in the distance, and at midnight, in the depth of winter, we were in a boat, on the dangerous and deceitful canal of Sicily. The boundless deep and starry canopy were in their true, silent, and lonely grandeur, and inspired emotions never to be forgotten, at least by me.

We left Malta at five in the evening; the distance to Gergenti is one hundred and seventeen miles, and, with extraordinary good fortune, we accomplished it in eighteen hours, arriving at Gergenti next morning at eleven. "Speramo in Dio e nella santissima Virgine," said the crew, "forse arriveremo domani, questa volta saremo fortunati;" at the same time propitiating their saints and keeping a well-trimmed lamp burning before the Madonna, throughout the night. They had repeated an *Ave Maria* as the sun went down; a second an hour later; and in the morning, as the day began to dawn, they sang, uncovered, a hymn or canticle, to which the view of the distant heights of Sicily,

caught by the same ray, gave more than common fervour. The mode of life of these poor men leads to superstition; and since they sing and feel sincerely, as they have been instructed from childhood, we should not judge harshly of them.

The last look of Malta was to me a mournful one. Though I had been waiting eight days for the summons to sail, yet when it came, its suddenness surprised and grieved me. Scarcely could I convince myself that the relative and friends whom I loved, were shaking my hand with a farewell grasp—that we were parting, perhaps, for ever. What were to me the ruins of mighty cities, the glory of antient Rome, or prostration of modern Italy? My thoughts were lingering round the scenes, where I had enjoyed six weeks of unalloyed delight, and

"Lived my boyhood o'er again."

Alas! It has passed; and this short visit, which will rank in memory along with it, has passed also. So, as I said, if not with tears in appearance, with more grief of heart than when sorrow finds an outlet in tears—so passes time, never to return. Let me comfort myself. What would life be without these vicissitudes,—what would joy be without pain? Did I not daily complain of being detained, and say this day spent here in Malta, is a day taken from Rome? I did so, not knowing my

own wishes. I did so, but when the time came, I wished the tempest to drive us back, or some accident, to give me a few more hours. How should I have employed them? Perhaps in nothing, perhaps in complaining. Here, now, if such hours were at my command, I could give utterance to a thousand thoughts and feelings. What recollections, hopes, and schemes of happiness! I will brave thee, thou boisterous channel, once again. Nor art thou, lonely rock, separated from me for ever. I shall yet behold thee, or in some way build fame upon thee, if fame be ever mine. Enough—let me not give sorrow way, nor write this page with tears. Yet, wherefore should I check the current?—too rarely am I thus moved,—too seldom know the mournful luxury of grief: for not possessing the substance of joy, I cannot often repose under its shadow. It is, therefore, far more dangerous for me to communicate with people. To me they are all in the extreme—or loved, or hated, or despised. I wander on to think of many, first of one whom I shall long remember—not for her beauty, for truly that was not the attraction—but, that she and her friends were suffering in exile for the good cause of liberty; and yet to my eyes she did appear beautiful, and I found in her converse something of that spirit, which lives only in the great and the unfortunate. For awhile it appeared to be with me also, and I thought myself worthy, and felt myself fit to participate in it.

I had all the poetry of exile—she, alas, has all the suffering! Suffer on—the day will come, and is come—liberty shall triumph—the great shall be acknowledged great; and thou, thou shalt see thy beloved Italy again. I too shall see it, but not as thou, with affection. I shall see it as a stranger, and examine its ruins. I shall see thy city; then assuredly its ruins shall be of little interest; it will suggest too many thoughts for me to inquire what it has been. I will, as I promised, think of you as I pass it. I will next reveal my present thoughts on it; and, reflect how hard is fate, how little happiness depends on our wishes. Are there others of whom I would now wander, still farther to think?—Yes, many—many whom sudden liking or old acquaintance would call up. Many, who one by one, shall be registered and kept sacred in memory. Let all these trust themselves to ordinary recollection, here one is in light, another in shade—one is in the foreground, the other slightly marked in the distance. Let the picture of Malta remain as it now exists, its colours will be softened by time; but I will always preserve it, and look on it with pleasure. Farewell, then—farewell,—I hope not for ever.

We got into the harbour of Girgenti at eleven o'clock. The officers of the quarantine were not there, and we waited till they were sent for from the town, which lies about four miles up the hill. In fine, it was three in the afternoon before we

landed. Then the officers of the Customs were not there, the *visita* could not be made, but we were to trudge down next morning to the mole. This, however, was got over by dint of bribing, complaining, and threatening, and we took our way to the miserable collection of houses, which replaces the grandeur of Agrigentum. I was followed by some twenty or thirty beggars, whom the long rains had driven from employment. Going up with horse to town, four miles up the hill, accompanied by these men, who in the end asked charity: I met another who carried a little box, asked me for something for the Madonna, *per comfrar olio* for her lamp; he followed me for half a mile, till we came to a little chapel, or rather stone cupboard, on the road side, which he opened, and shewed an image crying out, "Qui signore, qui signore!" Of course I had nothing to give for folly, and left the man to fill his cruet as he might; indeed, the many applications had exhausted my purse, as well as my patience.

We stopped two days at Girgenti, examining the remains, which lie about two miles down towards the sea, and extend along a ridge of rocks, which, with some little cutting, form on one side the wall of the town. Rome itself has nothing more interesting than Gergenti. The colosseum of the latter is larger than that of Rome; the pantheon is more magnificent; the temples, which are of Grecian structure, are infinitely finer than the ruins

of Italy, and the entire effect more forcibly carries you back to antient times. You might even suppose it to have been but yesterday that the Carthaginians reduced the greater part to ruin. Besides the two more perfect temples, those of Juno and Concord, there are mountains of stones, cornices, and pillars, marking out the site of the temples of Hercules, Esculapius, Castor, and Pollux; Ceres, and Olympian Jove. This last surpassed all the edifices of antiquity, and, with one exception, was the largest Greek temple ever built. The foundations to various heights of ten or twenty feet remain. Blocks of stone cover the neighbouring fields. It is not here, as in Rome, where, when an antient building fell into ruins, the materials were carried away: the whole temple is scattered about; here, the immense capital is discoverable through vast masses of ruins; there, triglyphs, or the flutings of the columns; everywhere, legs and arms of the giants, which were employed in great numbers. The remains of one of these have been collected, and he is extended on the grass.

My journey to Palermo was a painful affair. There is no road, or one so execrably bad, that we preferred the fields, and, after labouring hard from morning till night, only advanced eighteen miles. Often to cross a mere rill, we were constrained to turn for half an hour; the soil is so deep and soft, that any quantity of water forms

an impassable bed. Several times the horses stuck fast in the mud, and once a sad accident happened, which had well nigh put an end to our journey. When mounting a very steep hill, the muleteer's horse stuck, and, in attempting to get out, disengaged the soil altogether. It fell back, could not regain its footing, but rolled like a mill-stone to the bottom of the hill. The poor man stood in amazement, holding the bridle, rope, and collar of bells, which his beast had left behind, and as the trunk and the heels of the rolling animal were successively seen, he kept exclaiming—"*Jesu! Jesu! Santissima Maria!*" Thus he stood, till the horse rolled into the bed of the river, and, strange to say, that notwithstanding the immense distance which he had rolled, no bone of the beast was broken. As for the muleteer, when he found all was right, he answered my inquiries concerning his horse, by gravely making the sign of the cross, and repeating "Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto." In this sort of way, continually wandering and turning, we at length arrived at the river, the passage which was to decide the possibility of proceeding to Palermo. We passed it. It rained during the night, and next morning it was no longer passable. This torrent is called "Passo del Noto," and we waded in it for a whole day, passing it no fewer than twenty-eight times. We slept at a house called Fontana Fredda, about two miles beyond the place where we had crossed.

It is a most desolate looking hovel. On the way thither, we saw some fowls, and, by the advice of the guide, made a purchase, an example which is worthy the imitation of all who may follow in the same route, for by this wise precaution we contrived, with the addition of some bread, which we had brought with us from Girgenti, to make a tolerable supper. On the following morning, we learnt, to our no small disconcertment, that it had rained so much during the night that our proceeding was doubtful, and our return to Girgenti impossible. However, we kept on, through a day more vexatious and harassing than the preceding, but the third day was comparatively easy, as, after four miles beyond Alcara, the town at which we slept the second night, we fell into a good carriage road, which continued all the way to Palermo, where I arrived on the 31st. Here all was bustle; the carnival had begun. Meanness and magnificence were strangely contrasted.

I drove out by the Parco, and visited the palace of Palermo—the specula—the cathedral—the silk manufactory—the hospital—the convent and cemeteries of the Capuchins—I found them singing in numbers—to all appearance devoutedly.—The altar is large—the nave vaulted—the church altogether has an imposing appearance—after the chanting, some, on going out and passing the altar, fell down and kissed the floor.. The horrible scene of the dead preserved—gallery upon

gallery dressed—monstrous—incredible. I would rather want the conviction of our mortality, than have it taught in this horrible form. The Capuchin, who accompanied me, pointed out his friends of the convent. I requested him to see what effect such a question would produce. He did not shew the feeling of the grave-digger—he had too many acquaintances around him, to give sympathy to any—this one he knew well—that, with the red band round his neck, was an ordained priest, an eloquent preacher—another was Friar Bartholomew from Giuseppe,—he ran over the whole file for the last twenty years, seemed to feel nothing—pointed them out with a careless freedom—called my attention to their individual deformities, and treated the remains of his associates in the convent as objects of *virtù*.' The dead are generally in niches in the rock. Most of them are upright—some horizontal—piles of decorated coffins occupy the floor, some open, shewing the remains, half putrid, their trappings of raiment moth-eaten, and the gaudy colouring covered with dust. Generals, princes, children, and monks, are all inhabitants of this city of the dead. What have the living to do there? Must idle curiosity ransack the charnel-house, and are men base enough to gratify it for gold? Perhaps, a still more unanswerable question is, to what can these catacombs of mummies owe their origin? What affection can be gratified, what end served, by looking on

these miserable relics of perishable mortality? The black and shrivelled skin—the half rotten bones—the half decayed members of the body hanging together, or bound with wires, or with the shreds of the clothing—all painfully rivet the thoughts on death. Is it a lesson to the living? No, the living require no such teaching—their business is to be happy—to learn religion from the beauties of nature—such deformities—such wrecks of man's noble mechanism, make them doubt. Is the worship of the Creator excited by sights like these? Are they not horrible and superfluous evidence of our general doom? Were they not as ourselves, vigorous in life?—but then, shall not we be like them?—perhaps so. No man knows to a certainty that he is mortal, he never can know it; the same stroke that proves it, takes from him the conviction. It is a mystery—a miracle. Flow on smoothly and slowly, envious time, thou bearest us too rapidly onwards, and thy stream, which should bound strongliest at its fountain, becomes daily more impetuous. I shall soon reach the gulf that swallows up thy current. Do thy worst—and cast me there—I defy and shall defeat thee! It is not a shoreless tide: I shall pass its desolate expanse, and endless ages, beyond thy brief reign, await me.

Palermo far exceeds all the scenes of wretchedness which are to be met with even in Sicily, where misrule has provided abundance of such at

every step. The beggars wander about naked, or only covered with a handkerchief or coarse mat, and are seen searching for crumbs among the offal thrown out of the houses. We have no idea of the wretchedness existing in the world, until we travel, and by travelling we see so much of it, that at length pity becomes a mere observation, that such and such wretchedness is found in a certain country. Sicily presents the most abject misery—a peasantry in rags—labourers begging, and men unsheltered by clothing from the vicissitudes of the seasons. Whence is all this? Ask the people of any class, and all will answer, the government—the taxes—the custom-house. Sicily has many things against its internal prosperity, among which must be numbered the mountainous nature of the country, which prevents proper roads being made, unless at an extravagant expense. It tells more than tyranny and misgovernment, though of both, Sicily has had its share. It is, however, much in favour of those, who would attribute its distress to misgovernment alone, that the same distress obtains on the sea-shore, and in the neighbourhood of the great towns, as in the interior; be it as it may, Sicily is wretched—unimproved—savage. It was formerly rich, the granary of Rome: but now it is the abode of poverty, superstition, and ignorance, the shame of itself, and the pity of all surrounding nations. Yet, what a soil, lying in useless redundancy; nay, borne down the hills by its own

richness and weight! Fruits spring up spontaneously—the ignorant peasant lives on, as his fathers did—mows his fields with as little art as a savage—his poverty and ignorance excuse him,—the beneficence of nature makes his unskilfulness less hurtful, and he sees his harvest rise every autumn in miraculous and unmerited abundance. There are not wanting eyes to perceive, nor native hearts to feel, the fallen state of Sicily. The sword has been unsheathed to assert her rights—liberty has, however, been unfortunate—its efforts have gained the name of rebellion—its supporters the honours of the scaffold. I sit in the capital, and remember the sad scenes that took place six years ago: I hear the cries of the people of Palermo for their constitution, and see the brigands of Naples encamped around their city. What is the result?—liberty triumphs, and generously forgives, generously trusts her enemies—trusts kings.

No more. Sicily is betrayed, after having triumphed. She is in her old fetters, and they who would have burst them are in dungeons, or with the unhonoured dead.

I witnessed, on the road to Palermo, a spectacle well calculated to call forth the indignation of a free man. Four soldiers, six carbonari handcuffed, were then journeying on the high road, four miles from Alcara; one, a fair looking man, a priest, in priest's dress, black robe and three cornered hat, handcuffed to another, who evidently

was a gentleman, but covered with a peasant's brown cloak; behind these, two others, equally miserably looking, but still preserving about them that air which indicated their former condition—their beards long, and one with a boot on one foot, and a shoe on the other; one in a shooting coat. I learned that they were going to Palermo to be tried: I mean, to be condemned: they came from a prison of five years—they were going to one, whose duration we know not—the liberation from which we shall all have, and then is the day of retribution. Then shall not pass unrewarded the generous wish and noble struggle of the patriot—the disinterested sacrifices he made, he gloried to make;—then shall his blood bear witness to his wrongs, and those who now sit with stained crowns, disgraced and forsworn, shall know that, though man be a generous victim and forgive, the justice of heaven condemns!

On the 9th of February, we embarked, and after a voyage of sixty hours, distance two hundred and ten miles, we arrived at Naples on the morning.

The Carnival is now closing at Naples. Rome is said to have the best of these things, and Naples the second. It is, in fact, a sufficiently moderate and rational affair. We, in England, have our Christmas amusements—the people of Italy, by common consent, sanctioned, too, by immemorial custom, keep theirs before Lent. It is useless to

make a distinction between December and February. A carnival, judged from the accounts given thereof in books, must doubtless appear a most absurd and immoral business; but, read an account of an English Christmas, and the fair inference is, that the whole nation is sunk in simultaneous debauchery—an idea by no means uncommon abroad, though certainly very far from the truth. The fact is, that the foreigner misconceives our national customs, and we are equally ill-informed as to his. The religion of Italy requires the observance of a forty days fast—these forty days are taken from the centre of the season, and, as a set off against such a sweeping arrangement, the people make the best use of what time they have. Authors generally represent the Carnival as a remnant of the Bacchanalian festivals of antiquity, and as exhibiting a like degree of indecency and extravagance; but its true origin is the institution of Lent. Both Lent and Carnival were at their highest, at the same period—the observance of both is dying away together. Considering, then, the Carnival as resulting from another institution, in itself deserving neither praise nor blame, let us see what it really is, not what it was two centuries ago. On our departure from Malta, they were beginning the Carnival. Masked balls were given at private houses, and parties followed much more closely on each other than ordinary. This was all, and it should be borne in mind, that Malta is a

very Catholic place, and most exemplary in its superstition. At Palermo, there were the same appearances. People were to be seen, peaceably parading in masks, perhaps ten or twelve might be seen in the course of a day, and these chiefly of the lower orders; and this in a city of one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, the third largest in Italy. On the Sunday, there was a promenade in the principal street—hundreds of carriages filled it from one end to the other; it was a fine sight, something like a great day in Hyde Park, with the addition that, on either side of the promenade, were four or five rows of balconies filled with people. This is a good arrangement for letting every body see every body. There you meet all your friends, and the mode of recognition, on such occasions, is not the least singular part of the affair. Often, a shower of large comfits descends from the balconies on the carriage of a friend below, which, though absurd enough, is yet, perhaps, the only way of recognizing particular persons in a crowd of one hundred thousand. Many gay cavaliers were much delighted by this signal mark of favour from the Palermitan beauties. To return to the Carnival,—it is described as considerably fallen off at Palermo. We saw and heard nothing beyond a decent sociality. But misfortune and oppression make the poor Sicilian contented with little. The days of the Spanish viceroys, and those of the English occupation, are past.

Carnival and gaiety—liberty and wealth, have vanished together. From Palermo, we proceeded to Naples; and what did we there find to justify the description of annual madness? Something more splendid than at Malta or Palermo, but nothing extravagant, or outraging propriety. You rarely meet masks in the streets; you see nothing but the most perfect order. On Thursdays and Sundays, there are, indeed, masks in abundance, all sufficiently common place, as Turks, warriors, sages, and harlequins. No one, however, supports a character; it is a mere parade of an extensive wardrobe. Then the private fancy balls, many of which are given, have nothing remarkable in them, no characters are kept up. The only difference produced in society by the Carnival, is a greater activity and gaiety—but an activity which seldom amounts to the ordinary run of a London winter. There are, also, public masked balls, given at the St. Carlo theatre, to one of which we went, for the purpose of seeing His Majesty, and, after an immense quantity of pushing, perspiring, and varied exclamation, we beheld the King enter with his attendants, for whom a circle had been left all round the boxes and stage. This was the first occasion on which he had appeared in the area below at any masked ball at St. Carlo. It was, therefore, considered a popular act. The arrangement was as follows:—Soldiers were posted all round at short intervals, and though the King

was said to mix with his people, yet his guards were between; a thick file of gigantic mercenaries. The procession of the court was certainly well arranged, and extremely fine. There were, in all, about sixty people; in front, some twenty ladies and gentlemen, habited à l'Ecossais, which dress rivalled any of the Greek, Persian, or fancy ones that followed. Behind these, were eastern costumes. Then came the four poets of Italy, each preceded by a knight in armour, and followed by their respective heroes and heroines. They were dressed, as we see them painted, with their caps and crowns of laurel. Next, or nearly so, appeared the King, dressed as a Persian, in purple robes, with a profusion of diamonds; the staff, cincture, and beard of an emir. The Queen, and those who followed, were correspondingly arranged.

The Museum of Naples is, beyond all question, the most complete existing, in several kinds of antiquities. Among these may be particularly noticed, several works by Grecian artists, the bronzes, and the Etruscan vases; the unrolled manuscripts, and, above all, antiquities relating to the domestic life of the ancients. Then, there are many celebrated statues, as the Hercules Farnese, the bronze Agrippina, the two equestrian Balbi, the Flora, the Venus Callepaga, &c. &c. The vases are of the same kind, but in greater numbers than those of the British Museum; the manu-

scripts are those of Herculaneum. There are several hundreds, many of which have been unrolled, and, by help of interpretations, one or two have been published. The manuscripts are of papyrus, burnt black, and almost reduced to tinder. Many schemes for unrolling them have failed, and among others those of Sir Humphrey Davy. The present process is very simple, but extremely tedious, and frequently breaks up the folds. They are fixed in a small frame, taken gradually down, and the fragments glued together by means of a thin membrane. Half of the letters and words are lost. Men, skilled in guessing and interpolating, add what is necessary, and a whole is thus produced, whereon more or less reliance is placed, according to the ability of the persons employed. Two or three men are always at work upon them; but little, it seems, is to be expected till a new method be discovered: perhaps little is to be expected from the manuscripts themselves.

The principal remark to be made on the antiquities found in the houses of Pompeii is, that the forms and inventions of modern times are, as far as regards the common conveniences of life, exactly the same as those practised among the antients. There is no necessity, or luxury unprovided for, from the kitchen utensils to the sacrificial vase. The whole of antiquity, all its customs and uses, are there just as they were two thousand years ago. The mention of a few among the

many articles, may serve to confirm this: we saw a portable cooking apparatus, so arranged as to save fuel—a vase in the shape of a tea-urn, with cylinder, and the centre for a hot iron to keep the water boiling—a singular chair, of rare antiquity, found on the very spot in the theatre, where the consuls sat—myriads of amulets and household gods—weights and steelyards—locks, hinges, axes, spurs, bridles,—tablets of wax for writing on—false dice—musical instruments, dressing cases, &c. &c. In fact, every thing as we have it now, generally of the same form, or, if different, more elegant than ours. The lava and the ashes, covered the two cities, and took them utterly unprepared. Some people were in the streets, some were at table; and, after two thousand years, they were found in the very attitudes wherein they were arrested by the burning inundation. The lava has rolled over the dangerous plains more than once; but still man ventures on them, and city rises above buried city, to be buried in its turn.

The Museum is a redeeming evidence in favour of the Neapolitan government. Great public establishments are, however, common under absolute princes—personal vanity being a motive fully as powerful as patriotism. At Naples, in particular, it would be inexcusable not to form an unrivalled museum. Antiquities are lying around in every direction, and excavations have been long pro-

ceeded with. The greater part of the collection was made under the French. Excavations have been since continued on a limited scale, suited to the comparative characters of Murat and Francis.

In every direction, the neighbourhood round Naples is remarkable for some object of antiquity, or scenery. We descended the celebrated crater of Vesuvius; this is a tedious, and somewhat dangerous business. The crater is a tremendous gulph, the circumference of which is about four miles, and the depth two thousand three hundred feet. The edges are precipitous, and you are let down by a cord. This is only for about fifteen feet; you then go down with incredible rapidity, and in a few minutes stand on the brink of the inner gulph. I looked over its sulphureous brim; the smoke filled it. I looked up and followed the rugged circle of precipices which converge to the dreadful centre. They consist of successive points and ledges, down which stones and rocky fragments are rattling every instant. Smoke issued from more than fifty different places, at times concealing our friends perched on one edge; at times darkening the sun, which just peered above the other. The heat was not strong, but, on arriving at the bottom, the sulphur brought the water to our eyes. The great central column was diminishing, and the sun became visible. We sat for half an hour—heard the hell boiling beside us with a sound like the sea, or a strong wind

through the forest. The scene was truly tremendous, but it amply repays the trouble and danger necessary for witnessing it. You cannot see down the mouth from which the central column of smoke issues. At times, you distinguish rocks round its edges, all yellow with sulphur. It is not probable that there is any deep hole, but rather that the smoke and vapour rush forth from divers fissures. The noise heard, arises, no doubt, from the steam being confined, and could not take place were there any large opening. This conjecture is borne out by the *Solfatura* in the neighbourhood, which is a sort of minor Vesuvius.

It is impossible to take the slightest survey of different nations, without being struck with the extensive variety of character unfolded. Every country appears to have some peculiarity, which it shews under whatever view it is contemplated, affecting not only the most important, but the minutest transactions of life. The other classes of beings, indeed, exhibit a diversity somewhat similar, but far less interesting and extensive; in them, the powers assigned to their condition adjust themselves to their natural level, neither perceived nor controlled by the unconscious possessors; their habits are formed sooner than they

are exercised, and receive an unalterable direction before they can have made a choice. Each retains its own propensity, unmingled by its intercourse with others of an opposite nature; the same under all the diversities of age, country and treatment. But man, less uniform, yields to every impulse, and his character is not so much the result of any thing original in his constitution, as of circumstances and events. It is in the nature of those agents by which each part is set in motion, that whenever any unusual acceleration or stoppage takes place, it is held to indicate some difference in the contrivance itself—some power is contained within not usually attached, or some spring does not act which, in others, displays an energetic movement. This is the great error in the philosophy of mind; to explain all the variety of form and action which the mind exhibits, by supposing a corresponding variety in its own construction, and not by the different modes in which the moving powers are applied—to account for every difference of character, by a reference to innate propensities and original distinctions. Whatever is unexplained, is thus rendered inexplicable, or by the delusive confidence, that it is already analyzed, farther anxiety is spared, and an easy inlet to misleading theories obtained.

In conformity with this, it is usual to consider all the diversities of character as proceeding from two sources:—1st. The innate distinctions of dis-

positions; and, 2dly, the subsequent modifications it receives from fortune, employment, or treatment.

From the influence which this classification exerts in directing the investigation of the mind, and from its affording an apparently correct method, according to which its variations may be arranged, it is of importance to ascertain upon what grounds these two sources have been viewed as separate, and whether they do not ultimately converge into one more remote than either. If these be established, the classification may be adopted; if not, another more convenient is to be sought for.

1st, then, The division itself is harmless. It sets apart two trains of events, of the existence of each of which no doubt can be entertained. It likewise comprehends every particular in each of the series it forms, for no man can surely possess any powers but such as have been acquired, either before his birth, or during the progress of his life, but it would have been equally comprehensive, had any other point of time been selected as the basis of division; had it been said that his character was the result of two sets of causes, the one acting before the middle of his life—the other after that climacteric had been passed. The comprehensiveness, therefore, of the classification, affords no proof of its utility.

Neither, 2ndly, does it appear that the primitive developement of character ought to be placed

in a different class from the subsequent modifications, because, after the first is fully unfolded, it stands prominent ever after as the leading feature, —for, while the latter are going on, they are subjected to the uncontrollable influence of the original, and, from its force, receives such a direction that their own is scarcely discernible, or recoils without effect. Such a classification would be as useless as to consider the primitve motion of the earth of a different kind from the smaller movements on its surface, because, in whatever manner the latter are performed, they are modified, or almost entirely swallowed up, by the comparatively infinite velocity of the globe itself.

It is not from disbelief of the fact, that each has a character stamped upon him, either previously to his birth, or so soon after it that the process is not within observation, and that, in regard to him, no essential alteration afterwards takes place, that an objection is urged to the classification spoken of. No doubt, a man's character depends upon that with which he is brought into the world, and the future mouldings effected by events; but so it might be said of a number of statues, exhibiting a variety of expression and attitude, that the differences in both of these proceed from the various modes in which each was at first cut from the block, and from the smaller alterations subsequently made, that after the rude outlines in the original formation had been finished, no character

but that indicated by them could by any diligence or skill, be superinduced—no air of agility or boldness of attitude could be imparted where sluggishness or tameness was at first imprinted—but who would ever dream of tracing any of their qualities to such a cause, or ascribe their beauties or deformity to this primitive developement, and not immediately refer them to the varied views and intentions of the scnlptor?—or, if he were anxious to obtain some controul over their formation, to what source would he fly, or whom would he endeavour to influence, but the mind of the latter? Now, in relation to the circumstances which produce organization and life, man stands in the same rank as do these dead masses in regard to the mind of the sculptor; he is brought into being by these, and until their agency is completed, he remains undistinguished from the clods around; he varies his form as they change, and assumes any appearance they direct, just in the same manner as the statue owes its existence to the intention of the sculptor, and until this is evinced and exerted, it continues to lie in the lifeless and unformed block, and its shape, its size, its smallest modifications are determined by the same cause which decrees its general existence. With what better reason, therefore, do we consider the innate disposition in man, as requiring to be placed in a different class from the subsequent modifications, than the pri-

mitive outline of the statue, to be viewed as opposed to the smaller alterations to which it is afterwards subjected? or, when we deduce all the diversities in the human character from differences of primitive developement, and from the influence of things during life, what more propriety or utility is there in the reference, than if we had, in the other case, said that all the aspects and passions indicated in the works of the sculptor, arose from the first rough outline, and its after modifications? In both, we should have stated facts undeniable, but not such as should be advanced as causes, when they stood merely as links between the real one, and *its* proper effect. As in the one case we proceeded beyond these intermediate appearances, and ascribed what we saw to its only real cause, the different intention of the worker, why not venture equally far in the other? Why continue to ascribe the diversities of character to innate propensities, when we know that these latter are *themselves* merely the results of causes more remote? These alone ought to be looked to, and brought forward as the basis of classification.

There is no actual error in saying, that innate propensities are the causes of character. It does not give a wrong information, but excludes much that might be gained in addition. In tracing dependencies, we ought not to come to a stand, till we can push our progress no farther; far less to stop when there is not only a probability that we

shall discover, but when we have actually a power to obtain some new acquisition. What we are accustomed to reckon the causes of things, are, indeed, no more than expressions for the last link in the chain to which we can reach, they denote the boundary of our knowledge, which, like the landmark, is removed outwards or inwards, as the territory is extended or lost. But because we cannot carry our landmark to the last foot of space, nor even hope to see it far beyond the line where it now stands, this should not create indifference to former, nor stifle the desire of new acquisitions, it should not make us less eager to seize every opportunity to bear it outwards, and thus gain the means by which our power and influence are extended. So, though we cannot expect at any time to reach the *final* causes of human character, or even to grope our way much farther than we have already proceeded, this should not render us indifferent to our progress, nor less anxious to add to it, every little step we advance. When, therefore, we can rise one higher in the list of causes, we should not refuse to make it that from which all others below are to be deduced, nor continue to calculate from a lower, where we may immediately refer to a superior; when we find that character depends not merely upon innate propensity, but that this innate propensity is itself an effect produced by circumstances, which may vary, we should cease to make any reference to the inter-

mediate energy, but attribute the effects to that which is in respect to our knowledge, their *ultimate cause.*

The classification, therefore, of the diversities of character, according as they arise from the innate disposition, or from its subsequent modifications is not founded upon just or philosophical principles, for it refers effects to *intermediate* causes, and separates two sources, which are ultimately the same. It resembles the account of a traveller, who should relate that all the waters of the Ganges falling into the sea, sprung from its numerous mouths, which account would be rejected, not because it stated an untruth, but because the curiosity of the inquirer had not led him to trace all these branches to the common channel of the great river itself.

In searching for a new division, there are many methods by which it may be expected. Viewing human character as receiving both its existence and form from circumstances, and casting an eye upon the history of different nations, we observe many material points where these modifying circumstances diverge from each other, and which could be established as the rule according to which they might be arranged. 1st. They are either of a slower or more sudden operation. At one time we note the character of a country so gradual and imperceptible in its change, as not to attract the attention, rising or falling unassisted and un-

attended to. At another time an unlooked for revolution alters the whole in a moment, sent like a torrent to lay waste the face of the country, and after its violence subsides, to present a bleak and uncultivated desert, or coming like a deluge, which indeed excites terror, and brings desolation with it for a time, but which has been rendered necessary in order to restore lost life and vegetation, where every thing is dried, parched, and shrivelling. The causes which affect national character might,—2ndly, be arranged, either as they produce a temporary or a permanent change. As the human constitution is liable to affections, which so alter the conduct and features, that they can no longer be recognized; but when health and vigour is restored, they again shew their own beauty, or pourtray their deformity; so, the character of a country is often subject to such temporary influences, which produce violent effects during their continuance, but at length give way to the returning strength of long acquired habits; or they may be attended with an alteration more durable, and their effects adhere to the national character like the dregs of disease, beyond any power to eradicate, though itself may be removed.

The causes which affect national character might,—3rdly, be arranged, either as they are attended with a beneficial or hurtful effect. To view them in this light would furnish the most interesting discovery, unfolding the properties of

each ingredient, which exercises controul over the welfare of a country; and if the analysis were perfected, the legislator might be said to have advanced as far as the physician, who can administer the regimen which restores, and avoid the poison which destroys the health of those committed to his care, and would thus have the life and prosperity of his country in his own hand.

The diversities of national character are, again, either produced by circumstances, over which man himself possesses no controul, or they are brought upon him by his own conduct. He sinks, either by the pressure of a weight which has been placed upon him, and which he cannot remove; or by the burden of one which he has drawn down upon himself; or, he ascends with a buoyancy which nature herself has bestowed, or he works his way upwards, by his own wisdom and exertion. Under this view we may discover how far nature is chargeable with partiality, endowing one set of people with every excellence, and condemning another to grovel about the slaves of pursuits, of an order not higher than those of the brutes; or whether the one be not attained by their own prudence, and the other incurred by their own vices.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

ILLNESS OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

At the period when the emperor appeared in the Crimea, a short time before his death, *viz.* in the month of November, he was in the highest state of health, and took the greatest delight in viewing the magnificent scenery along the southern shores of the Crimea, and in seeing the native Tartars, to whom he was extremely attached. One day he was seen standing on the flat roof of a Tartar house, with upwards of one hundred of the natives in their Oriental costume around him, whom he was eagerly regarding through his eye-glass, with much regard and affection, when, gratified with the sight, he exclaimed, "What magnificent countenances, and what a fine race of men they are! they must not be expelled from the country;" alluding to what most Russians ardently desired, in order to introduce people of their own race. On leaving the cottage, he distributed money to the crowd, and allowed them to kiss his hands and feet, which they did with enthusiasm; and he treated them as a father would his children.

At Taganrog, the emperor went much out, was very active in examining the country, and giving directions relative to the construction of a great public garden, then

forming under the superintendence of an Englishman, brought from St. Petersburg for the purpose: he usually dined at two o'clock, and slept in his camp-bed, which had a leathern pillow; the same on which he died. He took very little care of his health, and was frequently out walking in the mud, up to the ankles; whilst the common means of counteracting illness were neglected, and, as he refused all kind of medicine, every cause of disease had its full action on his system; for he had as much horror of physic as his ancestor, Peter the Great, entertained of water.

The peaceful state hitherto apparent in the country was sadly interrupted by the arrival of a courier, in the middle of the night which the emperor spent at Alupka, informing him of the existence of a plot, to take away his own life, and to subvert the government. During the night General Diebitch, then sleeping in an adjoining Tartar house, was twice summoned to the emperor, who was very restless, and walked about his room; they spent several hours together in deep conversation, and before morning a courier was dispatched to the head-quarters of the conspirators, the information of whose plot was this night first communicated to the emperor, he being previously quite ignorant of it; on the contrary, he had thought himself universally beloved by all ranks of his subjects.

The following morning there was little apparent change in the manner of the emperor; and no one yet knew of the distressing news he had then received, or what had taken place in the southern part of Russia. Nevertheless, it was observed during the journey to Sevastopoli, that the emperor was unusually irritable, and expressed himself dissatisfied with his horse, with the roads, and all around him: in fact the disease now developed itself.

The report prevalent in Europe, that the emperor had been poisoned, is quite unfounded; the facts about to be

related, on the authority of one who was in the country at the time, and who well knew all the circumstances, and indeed was an eye-witness of the scene, completely disprove such an idea. The emperor unquestionably died of the common fever of the country, brought on by his residence in the Crimea during an unhealthy season, and by his carelessness, and exposure to the usual existing causes. These no doubt were very much influenced by the mental anxiety of his Majesty, in consequence of the recent discoveries he had made of the plot, at a time when he thought himself, like some foolish, or less amiable sovereigns, esteemed, nay, even venerated, by those under his sway. His obstinate, and it may justly be said, criminal rejection of all medical treatment, besides, allowed the violence of the disease gradually to augment, and thus to hasten his dissolution.

The symptoms were, at first, those of a slight catarrh, followed by intermittent fever, which took place at Oriekoff early in November 1825. This in a few days became greatly aggravated, and it then assumed the form of severe remittent fever; a disease which had been extremely prevalent in the Crimea in the preceding autumn, and to which several strangers had fallen victims.

5th November (old style), Alexander arrived at Taganrog. The paroxysms of the fever occurred daily, till the 8th; and as the emperor, during this time, refused to take medicine, or to submit to any treatment whatever, whilst the symptoms became more alarming, Sir James Wylie, the personal physician of the emperor, called into consultation the empress's physician, Dr. Stophregen. At this period the emperor had frequent attacks of syncope, but the affection of the head did not manifest itself till several days after. On the 13th, Sir James Wylie proposed to bleed his patient, but he would not on any account submit to the operation; again on the morning of the 14th,

both the physicians, and also the empress, earnestly entreated the emperor to have some leeches applied, but he still rejected the proposition with the greatest obstinacy and violence.

When Dr. Stophregen, on his first visit, told the emperor that he was distressed to see him so ill, he replied hastily, "Say nothing of my indisposition, only tell me how the empress is," (she being then affected with a disease of the heart, of which she died some months afterwards). The emperor at the same time said to Dr. Stophregen, "Sir James Wylie believes me to be ill, and therefore wishes some other physician to consult with him; and, as I am always very glad to see you, you may consult on my case together; but do not trouble me with physic."

During the progress of the disease, the emperor obstinately refused all kind of medicine, with the exception of a single dose of calomel; and in the whole period of the case, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the two physicians, and the prayers of the empress, he would take nothing further. In consequence of which, and as he was in great danger, from all the symptoms rapidly getting worse, the priest was now proposed to him, and accordingly he was brought late on the 14th. On this occasion Sir James Wylie was called into the sick room by the empress, for the purpose of informing his majesty that he was in a dangerous state; and since he would not on any account submit to medical treatment, the emperor was therefore urged to think seriously about employing spiritual aid, so long as he retained his senses.

No objection was made to this proposition, and, at five o'clock in the morning of the 15th, he was confessed. At this melancholy ceremony, his majesty requested the priest "to confess him as a *simple* individual, and not to consider him as an emperor;" after this he took the sacrament; and the confessor, like a sensible man and a christian,

urged him strongly to employ medical aid, saying that, unless he did so, he had not entirely fulfilled his whole christian duty. The illustrious patient through this reasoning now consented to the application of leeches to the head; but it was too late, and, the following morning, the emperor became completely insensible. At this hopeless point of the disease, it was accidentally mentioned to Sir James Wylie, by General Diebitch, who was then chief of the staff of the emperor, that an old man named Alexandrowich, a practitioner in surgery at Taganrog, had cured some one affected with the same complaint as his majesty; upon which Alexandrowich was immediately summoned in order to answer inquiry into the fact. On his arrival he seemed thunderstruck at the desperate state of the emperor, and said the case alluded to was quite different from his majesty's, for whom, he was compelled to confess, there was no remedy; and the fatal result soon followed.

Sir James Wylie observed, if a case of *lèse majesté* was ever lawful, it would be on an occasion like the present, where a medical man would be perfectly justified in compelling his sovereign to act contrary to his own express commands, and submit to what was for his benefit, and restoration to health.

After death, the body of the emperor was examined. The only appearances found were two ounces of fluid in the ventricles of the brain, save that the veins and arteries of the head were gorged with blood; and an adhesion existed between the membranes of the brain at the posterior part, which appearance had resulted from inflammation at some remote period. Nothing farther was observed, excepting in the abdomen, where the spleen was soft and enlarged, which is a very common occurrence in fevers of the country. It is therefore probable, had treatment been

allowed, life might have been saved, as no decided morbid changes of structure had taken place.

The emperor did every thing possible to augment the fever, and aggravate the disease. Nor would he even submit to have the common offices required for all sick persons performed to him, but would get out of bed when so feeble that he could hardly make his way back again; he also talked much, and would not remain quiet.

At one period of his disease, the emperor appeared about to communicate some important secret to those near him, by saying, "Emperors suffer more than other men; my nervous system is shaken:" then, stopping, he threw himself back on the pillow, exclaiming, "It was a detestable action which *they* committed."

For thirty hours before death the empress scarcely for a moment quitted the emperor's bed-side, and the scene was most affecting when he expired. She continued kneeling by her husband, with her eyes fixed upon him, as he was gradually becoming weaker and weaker, until all signs of life were gone, when she rose and closed his eyes, and then took a handkerchief to bind up his head, to prevent the jaw from falling. After this she folded his arms over the breast, kissed his lifeless, cold hand, and, kneeling down by the side of the bed, continued for half an hour in prayer. The empress was also present in an adjoining apartment when the funeral service, or masses, were performed.

She was an excellent woman, and died soon after her husband, of disease of the heart, said to have been induced by the neglect of the emperor in the earlier part of life, occasioned by his attachment to another lady, Madame Nourakin.

The body of the emperor lay in state in the house where he lived and died. The coffin was raised upon a small platform, and covered by a canopy. The room

was hung with black; the coffin covered with a yellow cloth of gold; numbers of wax candles burning in the apartment, and each individual in the room held a long slender taper, lighted. These were given to all present, by those who had been the personal attendants of his majesty, as is done at all funerals in Russia. A priest was placed at the head of the coffin, reading the gospels. This was continued night and day. On each side of the body a sentinel was placed, with a drawn sword; guards were stationed round the doors of the house, and also on the stairs. In the anti-room a number of jovial priests were occupied in putting on their robes, for the nobler service or mass, which was performed twice a day. There was no sign of melancholy, either on their countenances, or with those who formed the crowd; and the military officers present seemed impressed with other feelings than those of sorrow for the deceased emperor, their attention being directed more to the ladies present, than to the mournful ceremony then performing. The funeral was afterwards performed with great pomp and splendour, according to the ritual of the Greek Church.

Between Akerman and the mouth of the Danube in Bessarabia, there are immense lakes of salt, or limans, as they are termed; but the salt, at one time, could not be imported into the government of New Russia without paying a heavy duty, so much that it amounted almost to a prohibition. This duty has been greatly diminished, in consequence of the representations of the Count Woronzow at St. Petersburg, and the change has been most striking. The Liman between Akerman and Ovidiopol, where formerly there was hardly a boat to be seen, is, since the reduction of the duty, almost covered with boats, transporting salt to the Custom House at Ovidiopol, from

whence it is carried to Odessa, and there it may be consumed without any further duty. The price at Odessa has fallen immensely, and it is preferred to the salt formerly used there, which was brought from the Crimea. Deputies from Bessarabia came afterwards to return thanks to the count for obtaining the repeal of such heavy duties, as it was a great benefit to the inhabitants, and the price of wages in Bessarabia are said to have advanced in consequence of the increased demand for salt.

At Akerman there is little commerce, and great vessels cannot enter the Liman.

The import duty upon wine is also said to be diminished considerably, to the great benefit of commerce.

As to the Navy of the Black Sea, the ships are speedily destroyed by dry rot; and even the great beams of timber in the dock yards at Nicolaef, employed in supporting the ships now building, are many of them half consumed by it.

It is said the abuses in the marine department are fully as great as in the civil and military. The building of the ships costs the government quite as much here as in England, although the timber is obtained at a trifling sum, and the carpenters, &c., are all peasants of the crown.

Locusts.—In the neighbourhood of Odessa, on the Steppe, myriads of a peculiar species of ichneumon fly, employed in killing and burying the locusts, are met with. The manner in which they carry on these operations is very singular. These flies steal upon the locusts insidiously, mount upon their back, and strongly apply their long powerful limbs around the body of the locust, so that it cannot expand its wings and mount into the air, whereby it might escape. When the locust is wearied with exertions to elude the grasp of the enemy, the fly ap-

plies the strong nippers, with which its mouth is furnished, to the neck of the locust, then pushes out its sharp dart between the head and body, and in a few seconds the locust is dead. This dart, on examination, is found to consist of two sharp bodies, and in them there is a small hollow tube. The fly remains for some time attached to the body of the locust; but whether this is for the purpose of depositing its ova in the body has not yet been ascertained. Before the fly goes in search of a locust for destruction, it previously prepares a small hole in the ground, which it does rapidly, by means of its nippers and legs. It drags the body into this hole, and afterwards scrapes the earth over it, and, to render the surface smooth, it seems to take great pains in replacing the earth, by running backward and forward over the spot, whilst patting it with its legs.*

The destruction of the locusts by this means has not hitherto been noticed. But there can be no doubt it is carried on upon a very extensive scale in the Steppe all over the south.

The town of Odessa is situated on a large bay of the sea. Its name is derived from a Greek town called Ordessus, situated a few miles farther to the eastward. It is the chief town of Southern Russia, in respect to the extent of population, (which amounts to nearly forty thousand,) commerce and opulence, and it may be considered as the great outlet for all the productions of the rich provinces of the south, the Ukraine, Podolia, &c. The vicinity to Constantinople gives it a decided advantage over Cherson. Hence great quantities of grain, wool, hides, and tallow, are

* These insects were observed by Dr. Lee, of Argyll Street, in the autumn of 1825, around Odessa, and several beautiful specimens of them will be found in the collection of insects of the Crimea and Caucasus, which he presented to the Museum of the Royal Institution after his return from Russia, in 1826.

exported to many parts of Turkey, and the countries lying along the shores of the Mediterranean.

The town is a free port, whereby wine, fruits, and foreign manufactures are admitted, and allowed to be consumed within the town, by paying a very small duty. The town is surrounded by a barrier, beyond which the articles are not allowed to be carried, except by paying the ordinary duties of importation, as in other parts of the empire. The price of corn in 1824, 1825, and 1826, was about ten shillings the English quartern.

There is, perhaps, more political freedom enjoyed in this town than in any other of the empire. This, probably, arises from the high and liberal character of Count Woronzow, the present Governor General of New Russia.

The wine produced annually in the Crimea amounts to about six million seven hundred and fifty thousand pints (of Paris). In 1803, several large flocks of merinos were formed in the governments of Taurida, Cherson, Ekatirinostoff; and in the year 1825, the number of sheep amounted to about four hundred and fifty thousand, spread over these provinces; from which the quantity of wool produced was about sixty thousand pounds, and of a quality equal to that of the best wool of Spain, Saxony, or France. New flocks are continually introduced from Saxony and Silesia, and every thing marks a great increase of this source of national wealth.

The export trade of Odessa chiefly consists of corn, hides, and wool; and when the demand for these fails, the place is in a state of great distress. Wine, and a few French and English manufactures, are introduced, but in small quantities; and tobacco from Turkey.

The ground which the town covers is very extensive, every house being separated from all the others by gardens; and the streets are of a great width. The dwelling houses, warehouses, and granaries for corn, are all mixed together

indiscriminately, most of them being built of a soft stone, entirely composed of shells. The roofs are covered with iron, painted green ; the walls are plastered with a yellow ochre plaster, and each house has a large court behind it.

In this wretched town, all the petty jealousies which usually disturb society are busily at work. There are not many English families settled in it, and not one of great respectability ; and these, instead of living together peaceably, are in a state of open hostility with one another. The hide and tallow merchant is too aristocratic to hold intercourse with the meaner wool merchant, and he again is passed by others without any sign of recognition in the broad, dirty, very muddy, and lonely streets of Odessa. The only public amusement in the place, is the Opera, not, however, much frequented. In private society again, of which there is very little, either good or agreeable, card-playing has banished all more rational amusement. The principal visitors in the summer and autumn are Poles, as corrupted as slavery and tyranny well can make them ; and the ladies, though pretty, are generally reported to be greatly disposed to pleasure and licentiousness.

After the peace of 1815, a ukase was published, ordering all the roads to be planted with a row of trees on each side; but this, like many other edicts, was not obeyed in many parts of Russia, particularly in the southern provinces, where few trees were to be seen near the roads. In 1825, when the Emperor visited Taganrog and the Crimea, the governors of the provinces being anxious to save appearances with their sovereign, and to make him think that his beneficial orders had been most implicitly followed, the ordinary apathy of the public functionaries was laid aside, and thousands of peasants were brought from the interior, a day or two previously to that when his majesty was expected to visit a particular province, in order to be employed in cutting large branches of trees from the ad-

joining forests, which were directed to be stuck into holes, in regular rows, on each side of the road. Deceived by this laughable trick, (though frequently practised in Russia,) the emperor's congratulations at the improved cultivation of the country, &c. were bestowed most lavishly on his apparently industrious, but chicaning servants. A traveller, some months after the passage of the court, saw these ephemeral trees lying scattered in all directions over the country, as a memento of the Russian mode in which the autocrat is informed of the progress the country makes in civilization. Here it may be observed that this way of preparing the country for his majesty's inspection is felt most severely by the peasants, who, instead of blessing, most heartily curse his Majesty, whenever he shews his royal countenance among them, as their labours are thereby suddenly augmented tenfold, in order to cover the disobedience of the provincial governor.

The mode of living at Odessa is similar to the English and French, excepting that when the company assemble in the drawing-room, they find, prepared, a small covered table, upon which caviare, different kinds of fish, eau de vie and other liqueurs, are placed; of these the guests partake freely, in the way of a whet before entering upon the more laborious duties of the dining-room.

People in this country are luxurious in their mode of life. Much French wine is drunk at table, but never to produce intoxication. Ladies and gentlemen leave the dining-room together, as they do in most foreign countries, and in the drawing-room tea and coffee are served; afterwards, the Turkish pipe is permitted to the gentlemen, in some families, and the ladies, even those of the highest rank, are seen to indulge themselves with Havannah cigars. The dinner hour is late, generally seven o'clock; and suppers are not customary.

Regarding education, much was at one time done by

the late emperor: and a Lyceum was erected, at which many of the neighbouring proprietors, as well as those of Odessa, sent their sons to be educated; but Alexander having become jealous of all free institutions, subsequently to the Spanish and Neapolitan revolutions, the countenance of government was withdrawn from this and all other public schools; in consequence of which, the Lyceum is now in a state of great decay, and much less frequented than formerly.

All foreigners who have visited Odessa leave it with an unfavourable opinion of the Russian character and government. The late decay of trade is attributed to the absurd restrictions imposed upon commerce; and the forms observed at the port are grievously harassing. Venality and corruption pervade all ranks, and the employés of government, from the very inadequate remuneration they receive, are compelled to commit acts of extortion in every possible shape, in order to be able to gratify the taste which they all have for a luxurious and expensive mode of living. As a proof of this, the head officer of the Odessa custom-house has a salary of only two thousand rubles, in paper (about 80*l.* per annum); the inspector-general, three thousand rubles; each member of the board, one thousand two hundred; and the examiner of the goods, only eight hundred rubles,—sums quite inadequate to procure even the common necessaries of their station.

There are judges of the Commercial Court, who have only one hundred and fifty rubles (about 12*l.* per annum), upon which they are expected to live; and many of the above officers keep carriages, and live in a sumptuous manner, apparently upon the above paltry income.

When Count Woronzow was first appointed Governor of South Russia, he found the whole government offices in a state of the greatest possible corruption. Grievous complaints poured in upon him of abuses in almost every

department, and many of these officers, all over the country, were displaced, whilst others were ordered to be prosecuted in the criminal courts; and the vacant offices he filled up by persons who, it was believed, were respectable.

The governor was, however, completely deceived—for, in a few months, the same pernicious practices had become as common as before. The delinquents were undeterred by the punishment of their predecessors. The misfortune was, that the Russian government did not allow their salaries to be raised, so as to give them the means of supporting their rank in society, without having recourse to bribery and extortion. Checks were attempted, but without effect —all is corruption and plundering of government and the public.

The practice followed by some of the judges in the courts of law, of receiving bribes, and even of refusing to give a decision until they have been refreshed, is so common, that it has ceased to be considered a crime; a thing not to be wondered at, when we consider that some of the judges have only the paltry sum of twelve pounds a-year.

A former governor of a town in the South of Russia is known to have amassed an immense fortune by protecting smuggling. The circumstance being related to the late emperor, two commissioners were sent to investigate into the conduct of this ex-functionary; but he was sufficiently rich to bribe those appointed to try him, and he was reported innocent of the matter with which he was charged; others were sent on the same errand, whom he contrived to seduce by the same powerful means, and he finally escaped conviction, and laughed at the government.

The lower classes at Odessa are dreadfully addicted to drunkenness, and as ignorant as the quadrupeds around them, never having received the slightest rudiments of education.

The sea is frozen in winter to a great extent, and the

thermometer has fallen as low as sixteen below *zero* of Reaumur; but the winter is generally of short continuance. The summer runs into the other extreme, the thermometer often rising to one hundred of Fahrenheit, in the shade; with this there is also often a wind from the east, which raises clouds of dust, so that one can scarcely proceed in the streets of Odessa, the air being thereby darkened, and the houses soon getting filled with dust in every part,—it being impossible to exclude the subtle powder which composes these clouds. So great is the heat in the middle of summer, that all the windows and doors of the houses are shut up from nine in the morning till sunset, and the gleam of light, during the day, is most dazzling, producing a painful effect from being reflected by the white-coloured houses, which, added to the myriads of insects, makes Odessa a very uncomfortable and unhealthy residence during the summer months.

The administration of the hospitals, like almost every other establishment, is exceedingly corrupt; without, all is magnificence and splendour—within, wretchedness and filth. One of the principals, and a most intelligent man of Odessa, whilst speaking of this subject, said, "In London you see nothing without; but when you enter a house, or any public establishment, all is cleanliness and order."

In the army, when a peasant enters, he becomes a freeman; and if he lives twenty-five years to serve his time, he may then dispose of himself at his own pleasure, but he cannot leave the country.

In South Russia, travelling is exceedingly safe, and an instance of highway robbery is almost unknown. Individuals have traversed all parts of the country, at all hours, without the slightest molestation; and to have guards is a thing never thought of, even by the first noblemen of the land, in passing through the country.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

SIRE,

THE commission appointed by a decree of your Imperial Majesty, bearing date the 17th of December, in last year (1825), has terminated the inquiries confided to its care, and submits to you, Sire, in a detailed report of its labours, all the opinions which it has collected on the secret societies discovered in Russia, and prevented in their conspiracy against the state; on their orign, progress, the successive development of their plans, the degree of participation of their principal members in the projects and undertakings disclosed; as also on the individual acts and avowed intentions of each of them.

At the period of the establishment of this Commission, and almost at the instant when the disturbances of the 14th December were repressed, you, Sire, gave proof that, wishful only to follow the dictates of your heart, and the example of your glorious ancestors, you would rather pardon ten of the guilty, than punish a single innocent. By this principle, in which so much magnanimity and wisdom are combined, your Commission has been invariably guided, during the course of its investigations, without, however, losing sight of the obligation imposed upon it, of labouring, by scrupulous researches, to purify Russia from the germs of mischief, to assure tranquillity and good order, and to calm the peaceable citizen devoted to the throne and to the laws. Filled with anxiety for the accomplishment of this end, the Commission has sifted, with the greatest care and strictest impartiality, all the circumstances which might lead to the discovery of the rami-

fications of the plot. But in the examination of facts, and in the divers cases which have presented themselves, it has been careful, as far as possible, to distinguish between weakness, or a momentary blindness, and a persevering malevolence. Almost invariably its conclusions have been based on the confessions of the detected themselves, or on documents written by their hand; regarding the depositions of their accomplices, and all other testimonies, as subsidiary means of conviction, or as simple indications of the course to be pursued in the examinations and ulterior inquiries.

Your Majesty is not unaware that a discovery of a nature to rouse all the attention of government had been made to his Majesty, the Emperor Alexander, in the month of June, last year, on the part of one Sherwood, a subaltern in the third regiment of lancers of Boug. It purported, that in some regiments of the first and second army, there were individuals who plotted the overthrow of the established order of the state, and that they belonged to a secret association, which was gradually increasing the number of its members. In naming one of them—Theodore Vatkowsky—Sherwood solicited permission to repair to Koursk, in order to confer with him, and some others, whom he believed his accomplices, in the hope of there collecting more precise and circumstantial information. Accordingly, in the course of the month of September, he communicated to government the fresh intelligence which he had procured. Other informations, agreeing with those of Sherwood, but more detailed, were brought to Taganrog, by Lieutenant-general Count de Witt, who had been apprized of the existence and objects of an association of conspirators, by an agent who had feigned to join it. These advices were still further confirmed by a letter received at Taganrog, on the 1st of December. It

was addressed to the late Emperor Alexander, by Captain Mayboroda, of the regiment of Viatka, and seemed the more important from the fact, that Mayboroda himself was a member of the above-mentioned society. Forthwith, a commandant, belonging to the second army, and an aide-de-camp general of your Majesty, despatched to Taganrog for that purpose, adopted some precautionary measures. Agreeably to the indication, Mayboroda, and several persons suspected of conspiracy, were arrested, some of their papers found and seized, and preliminary examinations effected. Meanwhile, their accomplices at St. Peterburgh, whether from a conviction that government had already a knowledge of their designs, or from an impatience to carry them into execution, undertook to deceive some of the regiments of the guard, on the occasion of the oath which they were to take to your Majesty, and excited that commotion witnessed by the inhabitants of the capital on the 14th of December. In the evening of the same day they were nearly all in the power of the government, and their depositions served to elucidate and complete the informations previously received, touching the existence of a plot.

From this period the labours of the commission are dated. The mass of facts showing the necessity of an extended inquiry increased daily. Yet, ever faithful to the principle laid down by your Majesty, the commission employed the powers wherewith it was invested only in cases of manifest necessity. Even among the members of the secret associations, it was content with requiring the arrest or confrontation of those solely whom trustworthy testimonies pointed out as accomplices in the most criminal designs, and as likely still to prove dangerous, or whose evidence was indispensable to the conviction of the principal conspirators, and to the elucidation of all

the plans projected by them. Those individuals, whose names are found in a separate list, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the object of the societies to which they had belonged, and abandoned them from the very consciousness of the fault they had committed when entering them. The commission has resolved to confine itself to the indicating of them to your Majesty. You will deign, Sire, to decide their lot, in your justice and your clemency.

On the other hand, all such of the accused as, for the reasons above detailed, called for the especial attention of the commission have been closely and carefully examined, and their evidence compared. It was subsequently confirmed by confronting them, and is found to agree perfectly as to all the circumstances, or at least to all the principal circumstances, relative to the object of the plot, the organization of the secret society by which it was laid, and the acts of its leaders.*

From these facts collectively taken, it results, that in the year 1816, some young men, returned from abroad after the campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815, and, acquainted with the political tendency of several secret societies then existing in Germany, conceived the idea of establishing similar associations in Russia. The first who interchanged this thought were Alexander Mouravieff, (now a retired colonel,) who originally proposed to comprehend this secret society in some masonic lodge, Captain Nikita Mouravieff, and Prince Troubetzkoy. Their motive, according to the written testimony of Alexander Mouravieff, was "a misjudged patriotism, which concealed, from their own eyes, the movements of a restless ambition." They were not then sensible of what they now confess in all

* Among the persons examined, all those who were found not to have belonged to seditious associations, or to have abandoned them entirely, were immediately set at liberty.

their depositions, "that the means which they employed could never lead to any end of real utility;* that the existence of such a society was contrary to public law and to morality;† that sooner or later it must have the effect—perhaps even against the wishes of many among its members—of inducing crimes which would be followed by ruin to them and misfortune to the state."‡

At these first conferences on the formation of the society, there were present, besides the individuals whose names are already given, Yakouchkine and Serge, and also Matthew Mouravieff Apostol, officers belonging to the ancient regiment of Semenoffsky. They did not then proceed to the execution of their projects, nor was it before February in the following year (1817) that Captain Nikita Mouravieff, having established an intercourse with Colonel Pestel, and having, to use his own expression, placed him in relation with Alexander Mouravieff, who was already intimately connected with the Prince Serge Troubetzkoy, the first secret society was formed under the title of "*Union de Salut*, or *des vrais et fidèles enfans de la patrie.*" The rules were drawn up by Pestel. This society was then divided into three classes, the brothers, the men, and the nobles *(Boyars)*. From this latter class, superior to the other two, were chosen, at monthly elections, the *elders* or *directors*, namely, the president, the superintendant, and the secretary. The admissions were accompanied by solemn ceremonies. Candidates took an oath of secrecy as to anything which might be confided to them, even though their opinions and views should differ from those of the society: on their admission, they took a second oath. Besides this, the elders and

* Expressions of Alexander Mouravieff.
† of Nikita Mouravieff.
‡ of Prince Serge Troubetzkoy.

each class were bound by a separate oath; they engaged to proceed towards the object of the union, and to submit to the decision of the supreme council of *Boyars*, though, according to the declaration of Prince Troubetzkoy, this title of *Boyar* was to remain unknown to all the members of the inferior classes. It was conferred on the primitive members or founders of the society, but subsequently new members gradually obtained it, some of them even receiving it immediately on entering. The society was then composed of Alexander, Nikita, Serge, and Matthew Mouravieff, Prince Serge, Troubetzkoy, Novikoff, (formerly director-general of the chancery, and governor-general of Little Russia, since deceased out of the public service,) Michael Lounine, and three other members. But these latter, having afterwards left the society at different periods, and broken off all correspondence with the most violent of their old colleagues, have been judged worthy of a generous pardon, and your imperial Majesty has devoted to oblivion this error of a moment, which was further excused by their extreme youth. From the outset the object of this society was a change in the existing institutions of the empire; upon this point the declarations of Alexander Serge, Matthew, and Nikita Mouravieff, and also of Pestel, are unanimous. With regard to Prince Serge Troubetzkoy, he affirms, that being conscious of their weakness, and of the temerity of their enterprise, their principal subject of discussion when they met was the means for working out the good of the country, for co-operating towards the accomplishment of every useful design, if not by active exertion, at least by a strong expression of approval; for contributing to the repression of all abuses, by publishing every censurable act committed by *Employés* undeserving of the national confidence; but principally for *increasing the forces* of

their society; by the acquisition of new members, whose talents and moral qualities should be proved by previous informations, and who should even undergo some trial. It was also in these first conventicles that they proposed to Yakouckine, and to General Michael Orloff, to join them; the first had recently left St. Petersburgh, and the second was, at the very time, occupied in conjunction with Count Mamonoff and the counsellor of state, Nicholas Tourgueneff, in the formation of another society which was to be called *Société des Chevaliers Russes.* Major General Michael Orloff, and Alexander Mouravieff, reciprocally solicited adhesion to their respective societies; but they could not agree as to the principles of a union. The intention of the general, as appears from his declaration, was to found a society, the sole object of which should be the putting an end to the exactions and other abuses which had crept into the internal administration of the empire, an intention which he proposed to submit for the approbation of his Imperial Majesty. Later, however, giving credit to the rumours which attributed to the Emperor Alexander a design for restoring Poland to its ancient state, and imputing this project to the Polish secret societies, wished to counterbalance their effect by means of the association, about which he was employed. However, his plans were ineffective, and the association of which he had conceived the idea was never formed; even that which already existed made no progress. Some of its members, and particularly Pestel, quitted Petersburgh; others found an incoherence in the views, and inconveniences in the laws of the society; others again, and above all those who had simply accepted the proposal of joining the union, *(L'Union du Salut,)* as Michael Mouravieff, brother of Alexander, Bourtzoff, Peter Kaloschine, Yakonchkine, Von Viesen, &c. re-

quired that the society should confine itself to "acting gently on the minds of men," that it should change its rules, which (according to the expression of Nikita Mouravieff,) had for the basis of the oaths the principle of a blind obedience, the employment of means the most terrible and violent, poignards, poison, &c. &c.,* and that in place of such laws others should be adopted, the principal provisions of which were to be drawn from the prescribed code of the *Tugend Bund*, as just then published in a German paper called the *Fœywillige Blätter*. The original members of the union, who then were at Moscow, with a division of the guards, long resisted this requisition; and it is to be observed that it was during these discussions, and in a meeting at which were present Alexander, Nikita, Serge, and Matthew Mouravieff, Yakouchkine, Von Viesen, Lounine, and Prince Theodore Schakovsky, that the frightful idea of regicide originated, or, at least, was started openly for the first time.

One of the members, Alexander Mouravieff, had received a letter from Prince Troubetzkoy, announcing "that the emperor had the intention of restoring to Poland all the provinces conquered by Russia, and that foreseeing discontent, and even opposition on the part of the Russians, he intended to retire to Warsaw, with all his court, and to leave the country a prey to the troubles of anarchy." This intelligence, of which the conspirators themselves subsequently acknowledged the absurdity, nevertheless produced among them an effect almost incredible. They exclaimed that an attempt on the life of the emperor was a matter of urgent necessity. Prince Theodore Schakovsky is said by Mathew Mouravieff to have

* "I had," says Pestel, "extracted all this from the rules of some masonic lodges."

proposed that the execution of it should only be postponed to the day when his regiment was to mount guard. It was suggested that lots should be drawn to determine who was to be the assassin, when Yakouchkine, who had long been a victim to the torments of a miserable passion, causing him to loathe his existence, excited by the agitation of his comrades, and inflamed by their discourses, offered his arm to perform the regicide. Still, notwithstanding his extreme abandonment, he appeared sensible of the enormity of the crime which he meditated. "Destiny," he would say, "has marked me out as her victim. Having become a villain, life will be no longer tolerable—I will strike the blow and kill myself." All the rest became alarmed, their fury abated, and they checked this ebullition. General Von Viesen endeavoured to shew them, that the intelligence which they had received was devoid of foundation, as Prince Troubetzkoy himself, when afterwards summoned to Moscow to clear up the business, was obliged to confess. Serge Mouravieff Apostol, on his part, transmitted a written opinion to the society, on the following day, representing that the crime contemplated would be a barren crime, because the society was yet unprovided with means for taking advantage of it. Yakouchkine yielded to this reasoning, but, accusing his colleagues of having urged him to a guilty design, which they themselves condemned, he for a time broke off his connection with them, and with the society, which shortly after changed its organization, taking the name of *Union du Bien Public*, and adopting new regulations, prepared by Alexander and Michael Mouravieff, Prince Serge Troubetzkoy, and Peter Koloschine. The first part of these regulations has been discovered by the commission, which submits them to the inspection of your Majesty. The principal provisions of the code *du bien*

public, the division of subjects, the most remarkable ideas, and even to the very style, shew an imitation, and in great part a translation of the German. The authors declare, in the name of the founders of the association, that the good of the country was their only object—that this object can have nothing contrary to the views of government; that notwithstanding its powerful influence, government stood in need of the concurrence of individuals; that the society which they organized would be to it an auxiliary for effecting good, and that without concealing their intentions from citizens worthy of participating in them, they would pursue their labours in secret, solely to avoid the misrepresentations of hatred and malevolence. The members were divided into four *sections* or *branches*. Each member was to inscribe himself in one of these *sections*, without, however, refusing to take any part in the labours of the others. The first *section* had for its object *philanthropy*, or the advancement of public and private benevolence. Its duty was to watch over all charitable institutions, and to point out to the directors of such establishments, and also to government itself, the abuses which might creep in, and the means for remedying them. The object of the second *section* was intellectual and moral education, the spread of enlightenment, the foundation of schools especially, on the Lancasterian system; and generally, a useful co-operation for the instruction of youth, by virtuous examples, by discourses and writings analogous to such views, *as also to the ends of the society*. To the members of this second section the superintendence of all schools was confided. They were to inspire youth with the love of every thing national, and to oppose as much as possible the notion of educating them abroad, and all foreign influence. The third *section* was required to give especial attention to

the proceedings of the tribunals. Its members engaged not to decline any judicial functions, which might be offered to them by the choice of the nobility, or by the government—to fulfil such functions with zeal and precision—to observe carefully the progress of affairs of this nature—to encourage upright *employés*, even to grant them pecuniary aid—to strengthen in good principles those who might betray any weakness—to enlighten those who were deficient in information—to denounce prevaricating functionaries, and to apprize government of their conduct. Finally, the members of the fourth *section* were to devote themselves to the study of political economy—to attempt the discovery and definition of *the immoveable principles of national wealth*—to contribute to the developement of all branches of industry—to strengthen public credit, and to oppose monopolies.

The members of the *union du bien public* were permitted, individually, to call the attention of the local authorities to any abuses which they might remark, though in general the *direction de l'union* reserved to itself the right of informing the government. It was doubtless for this reason, that many among them, in which number Michael Mouravieff was one, proposed to solicit the assent of the late emperor to the establishment of their society. The majority, however, were adverse to the proposition. The internal organization of the society was as follows: Its founders, or the persons who had belonged to it from the beginning, formed, in their quality of original members, what was called the *central union*. From this union was chosen the *central council*, composed of a superintendant and five assessors, one of whom was chosen with the authority of the superintendant to the functions of *president*, taking the title of *chief of the union*. Every four months, two of the assessors left the council, and

were replaced by others. The superintendant was elected annually. When the remaining members of the *central union* joined the *council*, the meeting took the title of *central direction*. The executive power in the *union* was exercised by the *central council*, the legislative by the *central direction*. This *direction* was also charged with the election of the officers of the *union*, of which it formed beside the chief tribunal. The *council* was authorized to receive members, and to invest with powers in their respective districts, those who enjoyed the confidence of the *central union*. The *direction* possessed the further power of appointing *a temporary chamber of legislation, to examine, explain, and complete the laws of the union, without altering its object.* The laws passed by this chamber, were to be put in execution, provisionally, with the assent of the direction, until the period of their definitive sanction by *the supreme government of the union, which could not be established before the union was definitively constituted.*

It is evident, from what has been said, that the authority of this secret association, and above all, the power of directing it towards any end whatever, was placed in the hands of the founders, or *primitive members*. It was for them to receive new members, in establishing each a direction. The directions were called *effective*, *secondary*, and *principal*. They took the title of *effective*, when they were composed of the members, in which case, they received a copy of the first part of the regulations: without this they were not understood to be *effective*. Still the *central union* had power to make exceptions to this rule, in order to hasten the extension of the society. Every *effective direction* could establish a *secondary*, having relation with it alone; but if the *secondary direction* established another in its turn, this latter, if composed of ten members, became entirely

independent of its founder. The title of *principal direction* was given to all those who had formed three *secondary directions*, or three *free societies*, as those societies were denominated which, without forming an integral part of the *union du bien public*, could nevertheless contribute to the fulfilment of its views by their influence on literature, the arts, &c. The *principal directions* had the privilege of receiving the second part of the regulations. In each *direction* for the exercise of authority, the maintenance of order, and the division of labour, a *council* was elected, consisting of a superintendant, and one or two *chiefs*, according as the *direction* itself was composed of ten or twenty members. All questions, whether in the *directions*, or in the *central union*, were decided by a plurality of voices. Decrees were past in like manner. The names of those members who had deserved well of the *union* were inscribed in a *book of honour*, and the names of those who had been expelled, in a *book of shame*. Members had a right to leave the union, but on condition of keeping secret all they might have learnt there. This same engagement to secrecy was to be entered into by all those who were invited to join the union, and renewed when the first part of the regulations had been read to them. There was no particular ceremony attending the admissions. The candidate gave in a written declaration, which was afterwards burnt without his knowledge. Each member was required to put into a common chest the twenty-fifth part of his annual income, and to obey the laws of the union.*

Such were, according to the first part of its regulations, the principles and object of the *union du bien public*. The second part was never drawn up, or at least never received the sanction of the central union. The outline

* All the depositions agree that this rule was very little attended to—only five thousand roubles having been transmitted to St. Petersburgh before 1825.

had been presented by Prince Troubetzkoy, but it was not taken into consideration; and in 1822 Alexander Mouravieff cast it into the fire, with other papers. Care had however been taken in the first part, to make mention of the second, either to offer an additional allurement to curiosity, or to prepare for an opportunity of disclosing to the new members of the society what were the real sentiments of the founders.* These latter were far from conforming with exactitude to the first part of the regulation. In the establishment of the *directions*, the order prescribed on the subject was rarely observed. Two were formed at Moscow, the first under the presidency of Alexander Mouravieff, who lived for some time in that city after returning from the service; the second under the presidency of Prince Theodore Schakovsky. Neither were of long duration. There were also two at St. Petersburgh, over which presided Séménoff, an officer of Chasseurs,† and Colonel Bourtzoff.‡ Their members, though divided into *directions*, assembled wherever they thought fit, following no fixed rule on the subject. *Free societies*, almost independent of the *union du bien public*, were also formed at St. Petersburgh. Two were established in the regiment Izmaïlovsky, one by Prince Eugene Obolensky, J. Tolstoy, and by the College Assessor Tokareff, since deceased: the other by Séménoff. Both lasted only three months. A third *free society* was formed by Colonel

* These intentions were not long kept secret. Originally, according to Séménoff, who had been secretary to the society, its principal members alone knew that the object proposed was the overthrow of the established institutions of the state. The other members afterwards penetrated this project, for the execution of which, as for the accomplishment of the views developed in the regulation, it was judged equally necessary to propagate political knowledge, and to become possessed of public opinion.

† Séménoff's deposition.

‡ Deposition of Séménoff and Nikita Mouravieff.

Glinka, according to the depositions of the titular Councillor Séménoff, who himself had belonged to the *societies* and *directions* above mentioned.

In Little Russia, Novikoff formed, or attempted to form, a *secret society*, in joining it to a masonic lodge, which he called preparatory; but, according to the testimony of Mathew Mouravieff Apostol, his only object was to obtain money, and neither his *society* nor his *lodge* made any proselytes.

With regard to Pestel, Nikita Mouravieff declares that he did not acknowledge the authority of the new union, and that he had laboured on different principles; first at Milan, and subsequently at Toulczyn. Pestel, on the contrary, pretends, like all the others, to have agreed in *the regulation* of the *union du bien public*, called the *green book*, after the colour of its binding. For the rest, all the activity of this secret association resided in the *central union*, and its chief object was to increase the number of members, especially at St. Petersburgh, where the greater part of the *central direction* was assembled. Meanwhile, if we may credit the assertions of individuals, which have not been confirmed by the confessions of the accused, the members of this *direction* were preparing to influence public opinion, by means of a cheap journal, by songs, and by caricatures, for which purpose they desired a lithographic establishment out of the country, and a printing press in some village, distant from the two capitals.

It is an admitted fact, that there were held among them conversations and debates, which many members of the union might consider to be formal deliberations. According to Pestel and some others, from the first establishment of the original society, called—*L'Union du Salut*, or *des Enfans de la Patrie*—the founders, as has been

already observed, *had conceived constitutional notions, but very vague, and similar to monarchical principles. The first idea of a republican government was started by Novikof, in his project of a Constitution.* Pestel further says, that *that there was, at St. Petersburgh, in the beginning of the year* 1820, *a sitting of the Central Direction, which, agreeably to the regulation of the Union, was invested with legislative power.* At this sitting, on the motion of the member who filled the office of superintendant, Pestel made an enumeration of the advantages and inconveniences of monarchical government and of republican government. After much discussion, it was put to the vote. "All," says the same accused, "declared that they preferred the republican government, (Nicholas Tourgueneff, among others), in the following terms:—*Un Président, sans phrase.* Colonel Glinka alone was of a different opinion; he defended the monarchy, and proposed to offer the crown to the Empress Elizabeth." Pestel besides, declares, that it was resolved to transmit the decision of the *Central Direction,* in favour of the adoption of republican forms, to all the other directions, and that, in effect, he himself communicated it to that of Toulczyn. "Dating, from this period," added he, "republican ideas had the ascendancy over those in favour of monarchy, although several members still declared that, if 'the Emperor Alexander gave good laws to Russia, *(according to their opinions,)* they would be his devoted subjects and defenders.' The depositions of Colonel Pestel, are not, however, invariably confirmed by the rest of the accused. One of them, Glinka, pretends that all which has been related above took place, not at a formal deliberation of the members of the *Central Direction,* but at a simple *conversation* on various political subjects. Von der Brigen maintains, that the majority

of the members present were prepared neither for a discussion of this nature, nor for giving any definitive vote whatever; that, among others, Glinka and himself refused to give one, and that Tourgueneff, instead of using the expressions attributed to him, merely said: "A republican government, with a president, is very good; but in general every thing depends on the manner in which the national representation is composed." Councillor Séménoff adds, that no decision was formed, and that the debate terminated in a discussion, in which Colonel Glinka endeavoured to shew that, in Russia, a monarchical government only could exist. In fine, not one of the accused mentions anything of the proposal relative to the Empress Elizabeth. According to the testimony of Nikita Mouravieff, none of the circumstances of this meeting had any influence on the ideas of the generality of the members of the association, nor did they suggest any order to the other *Directions*, that of Toulczyn excepted. In various subsequent sittings there was no longer any question of a republican government, and the debates turned exclusively on *the alterations in the organization and measures of the 'Union du Bien Public.'* Pestel himself admits, that not only, from the formation of this union to its dissolution, was there no fixed principle adopted, but that on more than one occasion, what had been unanimously resolved, was, a few hours later, unanimously repealed. It is to be observed, however, that shortly after the *deliberation* or *conversation*, of which we have been speaking, many persons who had assisted thereat had another meeting—*fortuitously*, according to Pestel—and that, continuing their former discussions, one of them proposed to attempt the life of the Emperor Alexander. Nikita Mouravieff affirms, that with the exception of himself and Pestel, all rejected this proposal as criminal;

that they all contended, that the first consequence of such a crime would be a disastrous anarchy; and that Pestel having replied, that it would be easy to obviate this by the establishment of a provisional government, composed of members of the society, all rose against him with warmth. But if we are to believe the single assertion of Serge Mouravieff, this horrible proposal was renewed at a subsequent sitting, and adopted by a plurality of votes. Of those who were present, he remembers only himself, Nikita Mouravieff, and Pestel.

Meanwhile the *Union du Bien Public* continued recruiting new members. Some suffered themselves to be seduced by the maxims—common enough—of philanthropy and patriotism, which were spread throughout the first part of the regulation; others yielded to blind sentiments of friendship and confidence, or to the impulse of fashion—for there is also a *fashion* for opinions. The most active members of the society profited by this to throw the fear of ridicule into feeble spirits, or to excite curiosity. It would even appear, from some of the depositions, that the allurement of personal advantages was offered. But there were also many who began to perceive their error; and of these one of the first was Alexander Mouravieff. "The rays of divine mercy," he says, "at length enlightened my soul, which had been plunged in darkness; I suddenly perceived the bottomless abyss on the brink of which I stood with my unfortunate accomplices, and, with tears of repentance, I addressed to the Almighty a prayer, for pardon of my crimes and of theirs. God has heard the voice of the sinner. During six consecutive years, he has sent me terrible visitations. I have beheld my children perish; my wife condemned to irremediable suffering; my fortune completely deranged; and I have finished by drawing on my head the just

vengeance of my sovereign, and the punishment of the laws." For some time Alexander Mouravieff was unable to conquer a false shame, and contented himself by not attending any further meetings. But at length, in 1819, he triumphed over himself, and by his written communication he made known his resolution to the *Central Union*, praying and supplicating the other members to follow his example, and to renounce all enterprises and designs adverse to the existing government. He was answered, that, participating in his opinions, the society had dissolved itself. This assurance was false, though it appears that the society was about this period on the decline, at least in St. Petersburgh. Those who had not the courage to renounce it openly, withdrew. Among this number, were the three members of the first secret society—*L'Union du Salut ou des Enfans de la Patrie*—who have since, by their repentance, obtained the pardon, altogether paternal, of your Majesty. Two of them quitted the society about the year 1821. The third did not, it is true, abandon it till later, but, bursting the bonds which weighed upon his conscience, he finished by shunning even the approach of his former colleagues.

On the other hand, in the south, Colonel Pestel, then aid-de-camp to Count Wittgenstein, and residing in that quality at Toulczyn, the head-quarters of the second army, neglected no opportunity of propagating his opinions. He incessantly repeated to his younger companions, that even the will of the sovereign, the late Emperor Alexander, though it was to remain secret some time longer, was to penetrate the youth and the troops with similar notions; that they would be seconding his intentions in labouring for alteration of the established order of things; that, at St. Petersburgh, all minds were in agitation; that there a society was already formed,

numerous, and respectable by the distinguished qualities of its members,—a society which was preparing all things for the great revolution. Pestel succeeded in making many proselytes, to whom he showed the first part of the regulation of the *Union du Bien Public.* But he himself often departed from the provisions of this act. The colleagues by whom he was surrounded rarely resisted his influence, as is evident from unanimous testimonies; nevertheless, in 1820, a coldness and diffidence began to manifest itself, even among the members of the *directions* in the south. Debates took place in the meetings held at Pestel's and Youchnevsky's, the intendant of the second army, attached to the *Union du Bien Public* by Pestel, and with whom the latter continued in close relation to the end. To put a stop to the dissensions, Pestel proposed the establishment of a temporary dictatorship. This project, as well as that of substituting a triumvirate in place of the dictatorship, was rejected; but it was agreed that the deputies of the *Union* should assemble at Moscow, to define, in a more precise manner, the end of the society, and the mode of its operations. Pestel was unable to repair to Moscow; and the powers of the direction, of which he was the chief, were confided to Colonel Bourtzoff and Lieutenant Colonel Komaroff. This last having observed in the society an evident tendency to revolutionary principles, and even to enterprizes *censured by the law*, immediately thought of profiting by the discontent, which could not fail of manifesting itself at the general meeting, to induce its members to dissolve the *Union.* Major General Von Viesen went from Toulczyn to St. Petersburgh, to require a mission of deputies; and Nicholas Tourgueneff and Glinka proceeded, in consequence, to Moscow. Besides these and the others cited above, the members present at the general assembly were:

the two brothers Von Viesen, Major General Orloff, Colonel Grabbe, Yakouchkine, (who had joined the *Union du Bien Public* in 1819), Michael Mouravieff, and Okhotnikoff. In divers preliminary conferences which took place among these members, General Von Viesen suggested the division of the society into three classes: the first of which was to be that of the *unknown*, a superior class, charged with the supreme authority of the legislative power: The second, that of the *agents*, who should be employed in gathering information, and in taking the necessary measures, and making verbal communications, abstaining, thenceforth, from all communications in writing: The third, that of the *novices*. The proposals of Von Viesen gave rise to lively discussions. They were opposed by Nicholas Tourgueneff, who had been elected president for the period of the meeting, and who evinced great moderation, (according to Komaroff,) by Major General Orloff, by Bourtzoff, Koloschine, and Komaroff. Yakouchkine having one day said to the latter, "I read in your features that you are betraying the society," Komaroff replied, "Without doubt, unless it re-enter the limits prescribed by the regulation which is known to me." "That is no longer possible," rejoined Yakouchkine. Shortly after, General Orloff sent in a written declaration, to the effect that he would no longer belong to the society, and firmly persisted in this determination, notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of his colleagues. At length, in the last days of February, 1821, it was agreed, at a general meeting, that the *Union* should be dissolved; and Tourgueneff, in his capacity of president, announced, in the name of all the deputies assembled, that the society was completely and irrevocably dissolved, both on account of the difference of opinion shewn among the members, and in order not to rouse the

suspicions of government. The regulation of the *Bien Public*, and the other documents, were committed to the flames. Many members, Bourtzoff and Komaroff among others, believing in the reality of the dissolution of the *Union*, congratulated themselves sincerely on the occasion.

But the real motives which had induced this *ostensible* declaration, had been, according to the testimony of Yakouchkine, of Von Viesen, and of Nikita Mouravieff, in the first place, that the too vague definition of the object of the society, in its statutes, had contributed to paralyse its working; and, in the second, the wish to remove members whose zeal for this object had already grown cold, and who, without being yet sensible of it, appeared unfit, both by their characters and their opinions, to become useful auxiliaries for the *central direction*. Those of its chiefs who were at Moscow, took, even there, the resolution, as General Von Viesen and Yakouchkine declare, of forming, in time, a new society, and dividing it into two classes, laying down, as a principle, that the members of the first alone should know the real object, which was to be the preparing Russia for an alteration of the organic laws of the state. To obtain admission to this first class, the assent of the superior *direction* of St. Petersburgh would be indispensable. For admission to the second, the unanimous suffrages of the members of two *sections*, four of which were to be established at Petersburgh, Moscow, in the government of Smolensko, and at Toulczyn, would be requisite. Yakouchkine asserts, that this new secret society was organized from that time, and that it received, besides a special regulation, a name which he cannot now recall. Major General Von Viesen, on the contrary, pretends that nothing was formed but vain projects, and that it was more than once acknowledged, that the *end could never justify the means*. The former

adds, that the plan for establishing *sections* in Moscow, and in the government of Smolensko, was not carried into effect.

Colonel Bourtzoff, and Lieutenant Colonel Komaroff, who delivered to the *Direction* at Toulczyn the intelligence that the *Union du Bien Public* was dissolved, had been charged to transmit to it a written communication, on the part of the president of the general assembly at Moscow. But Pestel and Youschnevsky, already informed of the fact by another channel, agreed, first, not to regard the society as dissolved; and secondly, to profit by this occasion for removing *all pusillanimous associates, by representing to them the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking.*

In consequence of this agreement, scarcely had Bourtzoff, accompanied by Komaroff, departed, after discharging, at the *direction* of Toulczyn, convoked for that purpose, the commission with which he had been entrusted at Moscow, when Youschnevsky delivered a speech, which had been prepared beforehand, but which, far from producing the effect he had anticipated, only served to excite the vanity of those present. Colonel Avramoff (who has since repented, as he himself declares) affirmed, that if even the *Union* should be abandoned by all, he should not cease to regard it *as existing in himself alone.* Several others exclaimed, that the deputies sent to Moscow had exceeded the limits of their powers; that the society was not dissolved, and that it would continue its labours in modifying some of its original principles. The members present at this meeting, and those who afterwards adopted their opinions, namely, Pestel, Youschnevsky, Avramoff, Wolff, Ivascheff, the two Krukoffs, Prince Bariatinsky, Bassarguine, Prince Serge Volkonskoy, Bassill Davydoff, took (no doubt according to the provisions of the regula-

tions of the first secret society, which Pestel had drawn up) the denomination of *Boyars de l'Union.* They elected as *presidents* or *directors*, Pestel and Youschnevsky, to whom they added at first Nikita Mouravieff, believing that, as he had not attended the meeting at Moscow, he would, like themselves, refuse to adhere to the dissolution of the society. But Nikita Mouravieff assures us, that at St. Petersburgh "the society was, to say the least of it, entirely disorganized: the greater part of its members had withdrawn, and the *directions*, which still existed, were disunited among themselves. Without regulation, or government, in common, they themselves were ignorant of the end to which they were to direct their attention, or at least, could not mutually account to each other for their wishes and tendency." It was not till about the end of the year 1822, that this society of St. Petersburgh, or of the *North*, became re-organized. It divided itself into *believers* and *adherents*. The association of *believers*, or the *superior section*, was composed of the founders; other members, chosen from among the *adherents* were also admitted, but this could only be by consent of all the *believers* present at St. Petersburgh. This consent was equally necessary for the adoption of every decisive measure. The *superior section* further combined the following prerogatives: that of electing the members of the *directory* or of the *council*, charged with the guidance of the society; that of authorising the initiation of new members, and that of requiring an account of the operations of the *directory*. No member, unless belonging to the *superior section*, could initiate more than two candidates, and each was required to procure an authorisation, by means of the member by whom he himself had been initiated. This latter was bound to observe the same rule, unless he were one of the *believers*; and it was also by

the same degrees that the authorisation of the directory was obtained by the new members. These at first passed through some preparatory trials; after which, the object of the society was gradually unfolded to them; but the knowledge of the means for attaining it, and of the period fixed for commencing operations, was reserved to the *superior section.* All those who were to be made blind instruments, were told that their business would be to fight sword in hand. The new members, and in general all such as were not in the class of *believers*, only knew the members who had initiated them. But this rule, as all the others, was far from being strictly observed. After the re-organization of this secret society, the only chief acknowledged for some time was Nikita Mouravieff. Later, towards the end of the year 1823, the *believers* resolved, for greater success, to name three presidents, and consequently to add to Mouravieff, Prince Serge Troubetskoy, recently returned from abroad, and Prince Eugene Obolensky. A year afterwards, Prince Troubetzkoy repaired to Kieff, for the double purpose of profiting by the influence which his office as staff-major of the 4th corps gave him over the troops composing it, for serving the interests of the society, and of watching more closely the conduct of Pestel, whom the principal directors of the Northern Society began to suspect, regarding him, according to Ryléieff, as an *ambitious man, full of artifice—a Bonaparte, and not a Washington.* In place of Troubetzkoy, this Ryléieff was appointed member of the *directory*, and insisted on the necessity of no longer considering the directors unremovable, but of re-electing them annually.

If we are to judge from the depositions of several of the accused, the communications of the new *Union of St. Petersburg or of the North*, with that *of the South*, were

unfrequent, and always verbal. The *directories* even hesitated in confiding written documents to their own members, fearing to see them, by some accident, fall into strange hands. These two societies differed among themselves on many subjects, and particularly on the mode of their internal organization. Still the object of both was the same;—the overthrow of the existing order of things. Both were occupied in framing laws for the reformation of Russia: and the Commission submitting to the inspection of your Majesty the copies of these several projects, which fortunate research has enabled it to discover, adds also a compendium of their contents.* Both agreed as to

* The plan of the constitution drawn up by Nikita Mouravieff preserved the monarchical government, but left the Emperor only a very limited authority, similar to that exercised by the President of the United States of America, and divided Russia into independent states, bound together by a federative union. Pestel declares, that this project was merely intended as a preparative for the members newly introduced, whom they did not wish to shock by an abrupt proposal for establishing the republic; but Nikita Mouravieff replies, that his only motive in presenting the matter under this point of view, was to deceive Pestel himself, fearing to irritate him, and provoke a total division between the society of the south and that of the north. Another constitution, under the name of *Code Russe*, and conceived in an entirely republican spirit, had been drawn up by Pestel. Both are founded on the absurd maxim that all states are equally suited to any form of government which it may please their legislators to adopt. Both exhibit, even by the admission of the most sensible members of the union, a perfect ignorance of the interests and wants of the country. In the project entitled *Code Russe* this ignorance is ridiculous, and frequently carried to a degree perfectly inexplicable: thus the framer, after having divided the empire into great provinces or states, and separated nearly all those which had been detached from Poland, gives the name of *Kholmogory Province* to the junction of Livonia, Esthonia, la Courlande, and the governments of Novgorod and Tver. Another province, which he calls that of *Severia*, was to be composed of the governments of Archangel, Yaroslaw, Vologda, Kostroma, and Perma. According to his project, the provisional government was to serve as a transition from absolute monarchy to republicanism, and the first measure of this government was to be the suppression of secret societies, and the organization of an active espionage, the

the means to be put in action for the fulfilment of their common object; and both agreed as to the employment of an armed force, hoping to seduce the troops to a revolt. It was especially in the south, and in the heart of some regiments of the first and of the second armies, that the conspirators laboured to prepare instruments of this nature.*

According to the deposition of Captain Mayboroda, Colonel Pestel sometimes caressed the military, and sometimes—when the arrival of the late Emperor was looked for—caused them to undergo punishments, severe, and probably unjust. "Let us," said he, "make the soldiers believe that it is not to us, but to the superior authority of the Emperor himself, that this excessive rigour should be attributed." Lieutenant Colonel Serge Mouravieff equally employed all his care to conciliate the affections of the soldiers of the regi-

agents of which were to have been men recommendable by their talent, and by *the purest morality*. The provisional government was also to establish a *fourth state*, and people it with all the Jews of Russia and Poland. *Their number*, says Pestel, *amounts to just two millions, comprising women, children, and aged persons, and they might easily, even without the aid of auxiliary troops, traverse the whole of European Turkey, choose a fertile country on the borders of Asia Minor, and there form an independent state.* Pestel's plan was retouched by Youchnevsky, but only with reference to style. Besides these documents, two other constitutional projects have been discovered: one among the papers of Prince Troubetzkoy—very imperfect, being little more than a copy of the constitution of Mouravieff, with unimportant modifications;—the other among the papers of Serge Mouravieff—a paper entitled *Organic Law of the State*, and which is a mere extract from the plan of Pestel.

* From the whole of the evidence collected, it is clear that the idea of a military insurrection had not occurred to the conspirators before the year 1821, and that it was in all probability suggested to them by the examples of the revolutions which about this period burst forth in Spain, Naples, and Piedmont. Some, according to Pestel, were inclined to give the signal of revolt at St. Petersburgh; while others wished to excite an insurrection in the army, then to march to Moscow, and, having arrived in this capital, to force the senate to proclaim a political reform and the establishment of a new government.

ment of Tchéringoff, and other regiments of the ninth division, but especially of those who had served in the old regiment of Séménovsky. He even endeavoured to familiarise them with the idea of a general change, as not far distant, exacting from them a promise to follow him under all circumstances.

But the operations of the Society of the South were no longer limited to the increase of members. They gradually acquired the character of a real conspiracy against legitimate authority; and soon sinister proposals, perpetually re-produced at the meetings, unveiled the most grave and criminal designs. Colonel Pestel continued to preside over the *directory* at Toulczyn; and by his side sate Youschnevsky, always agreeing with him, notwithstanding his apparent inaction. On them depended all the members of the Society of the South—some immediately, others, by the intermediation of the committees, subordinate to the *directory:* namely, the *committee of Kamerska*, or *committee of the right*, under the presidency of Davydoff and Prince Serge Volkonsky, and the *committee of Vassilkoff*, or *committee of the left*, under the orders of Serge Mouravieff-Apostol, and of Sub-Lieutenant Bestoujeff Rumine. Mouravieff was afterwards appointed third member of the *directory* of Toulczyn. In January, 1823, the chiefs of all the *committees*—Pestel, Youschnevsky, Basile, Davydoff, Prince Serge Volkonsky, Mouravieff, and Bestoujeff Rumine—had a meeting at Kieff; when some fragments of Pestel's constitutional project were read, entitled "*Code Russe*," and the following question was proposed:—"What shall we do with the Imperial Family, *after the establishment of our new laws?*"—"*Exterminate them!*" said Pestel. Youschnevsky, Davydoff, and Volkonsky, supported his opinion; but Bestoujeff Rumine advised that they should content

themselves with the death of the Emperor only. As to the other members of the Imperial Family, it was proposed, at the suggestion of Pestel, to take them out of the empire, and to use the fleet of Cronstadt for this purpose. Serge Mouravieff on this occasion openly opposed the opinion of the rest. He would have no regicide. It was finally agreed that, notwithstanding the plurality of votes for Pestel, a question of such importance could not be decided by six individuals. At a later stage of this meeting, Bestoujeff Rumine sent to Youschnevsky a written discourse, in which, condemning the designs of his accomplices, he confined himself to proving that the Imperial Family would cease to be dangerous as soon as the revolution should be consummated. "What will be left for the Russians to desire," said he, "when *we* shall have organised a good government, and when *we* shall have given them wise laws?" But whether this opposition of Mouravieff and Bestoujeff Rumine was sincere or pretended, both, after an interview which they had, in the course of the same year, 1823, at the village of Kamenka, with the chiefs of the other *committees*, Pestel, Prince Serge Volkousky, and Davydoff, without hesitation acceded to the proposal of exterminating all the reigning family. Prince Serge Volkonsky asserts even that it was Mouravieff who then re-produced that proposal; and in 1824, Bestoujeff addressed a letter to Warsaw (which was not forwarded to its destination by Volkonsky), requiring the members of the Secret Society of Poland, with which he had opened relations shortly before, to put to death his Highness the Grand Duke Constantine.

The discovery of this Secret Society of Poland, and the negotiations which were opened with it, belong to the most remarkable acts of the *directory* of Toulczyn. Bestoujeff Rumine gave notice of its existence. To him also the

directory confided the care of bringing about conferences with the delegates of this society, the object of which was to separate Poland from Russia, and to re-establish its independence on the antient footing. The conditions of arrangement were soon laid down by Bestoujeff Rumine, on the one hand, and Krzyzanowski, on the other. The Society of the South engaged to acknowledge the independence of Poland, and to restore to it such of the conquered provinces *as are not yet Russified*, (among others, the Province of Bialystok, the Government of Grodno, and a part of those of Wilna, Minsk, and Podoly), on condition of reciprocally assuring to each other a good line of defence to the demarcation of the new limits. The Society of the South further engaged to protect the Poles in Russia, and to uproot every sentiment of mutual estrangement between the two nations. On its part the Society of Poland promised to employ the most efficacious means, *whatever might be their nature*, to prevent his Highness the Grand Duke Constantine from appearing in Russia on the breaking out of the revolution. It promised to bring about a simultaneous insurrection, to march against the Lithuanian corps, to disarm it, should it refuse to join the cause, and to establish a republican government in Poland. These two societies were also to communicate to each other such informations as were necessary or mutually important; but these communications were not to take place before simple members: they were reserved for special commissaries. The commissaries appointed were Mouravieff and Bestoujeff Rumine, Grodetzki, and Czarkoski. Subsequently, Pestel himself, and Prince Serge Volkonsky set on foot new negotiations with Yablnonowski and Grodetzki, deputies of the Polish Society.*

* Grodetzki, in conformity with the wishes manifested by the plenipoten-

Pestel admits having promised to acknowledge the independence of Poland, but he declares that he made no positive stipulation with regard to the restitution of the conquered provinces. Yet, judging from a map of Russia, which he prepared and appended to his plan of a constitution—*the Code Russe*—it is manifest that Pestel intended, in his projects, to detach from the body of the empire all those parts of Antient Poland designated by Bestoujeff; and a deposition of Nikita Mouravieff adds, that to the reproaches elicited by this concession, at the conferences which took place with some of the members of the St. Petersburgh Society, Pestel and Davydoff both replied—"What's to be done? The word is already passed, and such has been the pleasure of the Society of the South." His correspondence with the Polish Society appears to have had no further consequences. The delegates of that society had invited Pestel to make them acquainted with the persons of importance who belonged to the plot formed against the existing order of things, promising to name some on their part, and to place them in relation with those who should be indicated to them. Pestel, having no one to name, was obliged *to answer vaguely.* The Poles cooled; but their relations with the Society of the South were not entirely suspended, for it was resolved that their respective plenipotentiaries should meet again at Kieff, in the month of January, 1826. For the rest, the results of the inquiries pursued at Warsaw cannot fail of completely elucidating all the circumstances of which we have here presented a rapid view.

Shortly before those strange negotiations, in which a few individuals disposed at will of the patrimony of the

tiaries of the south, undertook to propose to the Warsaw Directory that they *should proceed, with regard to the Czarowitz in Poland, exactly as those in Russia proceeded towards the other members of the Imperial Family.*

state, and of the destinies of governments and people, the committee of Vassilkoff—that is, Mouravieff and Bestoujeff Rumine, prepared a revolt in the ninth division, then encamped in the environs of the fortress of Bobronisk, where it awaited the arrival of the late Emperor, and of your Majesty. By the aid of some conspirators, clothed in the uniform of the soldiers of the regiment commanded by their accomplice, Colonel Schweikovsky, on the day or the night appointed, it was their intention, as both admit, to seize the person of the Emperor, and that of your Majesty—to arrest, also, the aide-de-camp, General Baron de Diebitsch—to stir up the troops assembled in the camp, and, after having left a garrison in the fortress (which, as they say, was to serve them as a refuge in case of misfortune), to march against Moscow, inducing to revolt and rallying to them all the troops cantoned on their route. But as your Majesty has already had occasion to convince yourself, and as the Commission itself has, in more than one instance, observed, the double character stamped on all the plans and enterprises of the conspirators, a character striking and invariable, is that of the impatience of the passions, joined to an absolute nullity of means. In this respect they mutually deceived each other, according to the eternal custom of conspirators; and, misled by their own falsehoods, it was not till the moment appointed for the execution of their designs, that they acquired the knowledge of their own impotence. Such was the case in the conjuncture under consideration. After having plotted the insurrection of a whole corps, Mouravieff and Bestoujeff Rumine soon saw that they could only reckon on two accomplices—Colonel Schweikovsky and Lieutenant-Colonel Noroff. They therefore decided, first, that Bestoujeff should repair to Moscow for the purpose of conferring with the actual members of the

Secret Society, or with those who formerly belonged to it, to engage them—above all, Michael Mouravieff and Michael Von Viesen—to co-operate in the new project, and to bring to Bobrouisk some young men, resolved to carry them into effect; secondly, that they should demand the advice and assistance of Pestel and Davydoff, who were invited to remove to the camp. Davydoff did not comply with this invitation, nor did he even send an answer. Bestoujeff found at Moscow only John Von Viesen and Yakouschkine, who refused all co-operation, and nothing remained of these criminal projects to the committee of Vassilkoff, but the shame of having conceived them. Pestel states that it was he who succeeded in restraining them; but it is impossible to believe this, since, from the depositions of Bestoujeff Rumine, it is clear that in the month of April, in the following year, 1824, a still more criminal attempt was planned between Pestel, Bestoujeff Rumine, Serge Mouravieff, the two brothers Poggio, Davydoff, and Schweikovsky. On false intelligence they had been led to believe that the late Emperor would, in the course of that year, come to review the troops of the third corps, near the town of Belaia-Tserkoff. The conspirators immediately resolved, that in the night following the day on which his Imperial Majesty should descend to the pavilion, situated in the park of Alexandria, and at the moment when they were relieving the posts, some officers, disguised as soldiers, and whom they judged capable of such a crime, should penetrate to the Emperor's apartment, and deprive him of life. At the same instant, Serge Mouravieff Apostol, Schweikovsky, and Teisenhausen, were to rouse the camp to mutiny, and march against Kieff and Moscow. Mouravieff would have proceeded from Kieff to St. Petersburg, to act with the Society of the North, conjointly. Bestoujeff Rumine

designed himself for the command of the regiment of Tchernigoff. But the review did not take place; nor was the proposal made to the officers and soldiers selected for assassins, and who were, perhaps, not born for the crime. At least one of them, Joukoff, expelled from the guard, afterwards said (according to the testimony of Bestoujeff Rumine), "I know that, to succeed, the death of the Emperor is necessary to us: if, however, Fate called on me to execute this terrible sentence, I would kill myself."

But the accomplishment of these frightful intentions was only deferred; it was constantly, as is proved by a crowd of depositions, the dominant thought of the directors of the Society of the South. Captain Ivascheff gives evidence that, in the year 1821, at an assembly which was held on the renewal of the *union* in the south, an assembly at which were present, Pestel Youschnevsky, Avramoff, Ivascheff, Prince Bariatinsky, Wolff, two Krukoffs, and Bassarguine, the members of the society declared solemnly that their object was to change *at all costs* the order of things established in the state, wishing not only to *overturn the throne, but to exterminate all those who might pretend to it.* As to the means of attaining this end, they left the choice of them to the directors Pestel, and Youschnevsky, whom they invested for that purpose with a discretionary power. At another meeting, at which were present Youschnevsky, Avramoff, Ivascheff, the two Krukoffs, Prince Bariatinsky, and the surgeon-Major Wolff, (who relates these circumstances,) Pestel demanded a definitive confirmation of the plan which he had conceived of introducing into Russia the republican government by the aid of the armed force, and extirpating the reigning house. The members present approved of this double project. In the course of the year 1822, in

receiving Colonel Fallenberg into the society, Prince Bariatinsky administered to him an oath that he would devote himself, without reservation even, to attempting the life of the Emperor. In 1823, the younger of the brothers Poggio, on his entering the *union*, found that all the directors of the south proposed as their object the establishment of a republic, but with the precaution of not immediately acquainting the novices therewith. In the same year, Poggio saw at St. Petersburg, Prince Bariatinsky, and a letter which he had brought from Pestel to Nikita Mouravieff. Pestel required to be informed of the number of members, the powers, the progress of the association of the north, and whether all was ripe at St. Petersburg for revolt. "*Half measures*," added he, "*are good for nothing: here we wish for a clean house.*" "*How!*" exclaimed Nikita Mouravieff, "*God knows what they have planned below there: they wish to exterminate them all*" (the members of the Imperial Family). Prince Bariatinsky insisting on a positive answer, Nikita Mouravieff intimated that his design was *to begin with the Propagande;* but according to the depositions of Poggio, many members of the association at St. Petersburg were already displeased with Nikita Mouravieff, reproaching him with inaction, lukewarmness, and delays. Among those who wished for prompt measures without shrinking from any attempt, Poggio mentions Mitkoff, who, at an interview with Obolensky, said to him, "I fully and deeply participate in your way of thinking" (on the extermination of the Imperial Family); Prince Valerian Galitzin, who repeated the words of Mitkoff; Ryleieff who was *full of courage*, to use the expression of the same witness, but who was further inclined to act on the public mind by seditious songs, and by publishing the *catechism of the free-man;* in fine, Matthew Mouravieff

Apostol, whom Poggio represents as one of the warm partizans of Pestel and the constitutional government, prepared to pass a sentence of death against all the royal family, with the precaution, however, (other depositions prove that this idea was also that of his brother Serge, Bestoujeff Rumine and Pestel,) so to contrive matters that the crime which they meditated should appear to have been prepared by others, the result of a plot formed out of the *society*, and the members would thus have the means of escaping the punishment of a just and universal horror :* but these depositions of Matthew Mouravieff underwent a notable alteration in the course of the following year. On the 3rd of November, 1824, he addressed to his brother Serge a letter found among the papers of this latter. The letter in question shews discernment, and in it, endeavouring to dissuade his brother from all enterprises, he shewed him, if not their illegal character, at all events the folly of them. "The spirit of the guard," he says, "and the spirit of the troops in general, is by no means such as we have imagined to ourselves. The emperor and the grand dukes are beloved; to their authority they join the means of securing affection by their works of benevolence: and we, what can we offer in place of rank, money and tranquillity? Political abstractions, and ensigns of twenty years, to govern the empire. Amongst the members at St. Petersburg, the most sensible begin to perceive that we have deceived ourselves, and that we are deceiving each other. At Moscow, I only

* If Nikita Mouravieff may be credited, Pestel even intended to put to death immediately the assassins whom he should have excited to regicide; and by giving himself, through this measure, the appearance of avenging the imperial family, he wished to remove from his society every suspicion of having participated in such an attempt. When confronted with Nikita Mouravieff, Pestel did not admit this latter intention.

met with two members, and they said to me: 'Nothing is done here, and there is nothing to do.'"*

Everything proves that, in fact, even the principal agents of the society had no scruple in reciprocally deceiving each other. Thus it is that Major-general Prince Serge Volkonsky announced to Pestel, that he had gained over many officers in all the regiments of the nineteenth division; and that hardly could he except the regiment of his personal enemy, Bourtzoff. He went so far as to name some who had, as he termed it, initiated or *prepared*, and he was afterwards constrained to acknowledge, that he had invented all this, from a sentiment of vanity, and to evince his criminal ardour. Thus it was, that in the society of the south, they stated that the principal force was concentrated in that of the north, and that there operations would commence; while at St. Petersburg they affirmed, that all was prepared in the south, and that Moscow would decide the business—there being then, at Moscow, no direction

* Matthew Mouravieff Apostol declares in his last answers, that when he had an interview with Poggio at St. Petersburg, he was a prey to cruel anguish. Not having, for a long time, received intelligence of his brother Serge, he believed the conspiracy discovered and his brother arrested. "A victim to despair, and in my bewilderment," he says, "I breathed only vengeance, and even wished to attempt the life of the Emperor, and I communicated my project to Vatkoffsky, Svistounoff, and Artamon Mouravieff, officers of the chevaliers' guards." He first thought of employing for this purpose an air-gun in his possession. The latter proposed to fix on the day when his squadron should mount guard. However, Matthew Mouravieff, having learnt that his brother was free, became calm, and abandoned the idea of the regicide. Soon after, one of the officers above named (Theodore Vatkoffsky), among other means for executing the orders of the society, suggested the assassination of the Emperor Alexander and all the members of his august family, at some grand court ball, and to proclaim the republic immediately. The sub-lieutenant Krivtsoff, and ensign Alexander Mouravieff, say that, regarding this proposal as senseless, they took it for a pleasantry.

left, and hardly any members, nearly all of whom had abandoned the *union*. Thus it was that they added, with equal falsity, that secret societies existed in the Caucasus, and at Charkoff, and that the society of Charkoff was under the pretended direction of Count James Boulgari. But the same vanity prevented the conspirators, both from being offended with these falsehoods, and from admitting that any change had taken place in their views. Matthew Mouravieff Apostol, after having written to his brother the letter to which we have alluded, in which he expresses an opinion very unfavourable on Pestel; after having spoken in the same sense to Major Lorer, who had come to visit him in the country—suddenly recommenced assuring Pestel of his attachment and zeal for the success of his plans.* Pestel, as is attested by Nikita Mouravieff, by others of the accused, and by the very progress of affairs, was not simply director of the society of the south—he exercised over it a despotic power. The great majority of the members had a blind faith in him. Several, and among the number, Prince Serge Volkonsky, chief of one of the *committees*, without knowing his plan of a constitution, was prepared to sacrifice everything for the establishment of the form of government therein proposed.† Some depositions give reason to believe that he frequently contrived to have his own suggestions proposed by others, and, not to give himself the appearance of having conceived them, Lieutenant-Colonel Poggio met him for the first time in the autumn of the year 1824. Pestel knew that he belonged

* He says that he yielded to the entreaties of his brother. His letters to Pestel were not even indited by himself, but by his brother Serge, and by Bestoujeff Rumine.

† Prince Serge Volkonsky himself declares that he had only read some very small fragments of the *Code Russe* of Pestel, and that he was entirely ignorant of its principal provisions.

to the society; he knew that Poggio was not one of those who, to use his own expression, stood in need of being spurred: still at first he spoke to him with great reserve, and only endeavoured to seduce him by flattery, and dazzle him by words. He went into a lengthened dissertation on all the forms of government which have existed since the time of Nimrod, and was especially critical on the hereditary order of monarchies. But when Poggio, seized with an enthusiasm which, under any other circumstances, might be excused as infantine, exclaimed, "It must be admitted, that all who have lived before us, have understood nothing of the science of government; they were students, and the science was in the cradle"—Pestel pointed out to him, by degrees, that for the triumph of their opinions, there must be *efforts and victims.* The answer of Poggio, who was already inflamed to fury, and who testifies the most bitter repentance, was of the readiest—"We will immolate them all." Then Pestel, extending his hand, said, "*Come, let us count on our fingers. To strike the blow, I prepare twelve brave fellows. Bariatinski has already found several.*" When he came to the females of the reigning family, he stopped for a moment, and said; "*Do you know, Poggio, that this is terrible?*" and yet he did not stay his frightful inventory, till he had counted the number of thirteen. "*If it were requisite,*" added he, "*to kill also in foreign countries, there would be no end. All the grand duchesses have children. It will be sufficient to declare them deprived of all right to the empire. And who would ascend a throne inundated by blood?*" But Pestel, as is attested by his accomplice and accuser, wished for himself at least the imperial power. "Who," asked he of Poggio, "will be at the head of the provisional government?" "Who, unless he who undertakes, and will doubtless accomplish the great work of revolution,—

who, unless yourself?" "That would be difficult for me; my name is not Russian." "What matter; you will silence calumny itself by leaving power, like Washington, and re-entering the rank of private citizens. On the other hand, the provisional government will not last long—a year or two at most." "Oh, no," rejoined Pestel, "not less than ten years. Ten years are necessary, were it only for preparatory measures. In the meantime, to keep them from murmuring, we will occupy them with a foreign war, with the re-establishment of the antient republics of Greece. As to myself, when I shall have accomplished the great work, I will retire to the monastery of Kieff, where I will live as an anchorite, and then religion shall have its turn."*

By thus blinding the feeble minds within the sphere of his immediate activity; by giving birth to, or at least, by rooting in their hearts designs contrary to the laws and to humanity, the director of the society of the south endeavoured to extend his influence likewise to the society of of the north.† Prince Serge Volkonsky, Davydoff, Schweikovsky, successively came to St. Petersburg, the

* Poggio states, that Pestel spoke also of the men whom he intended to employ, liberally distributing among the accomplices all the most important offices and places in the empire. As to the traitors, he declared that they should see their names written in the black book; that they should be delivered up to the most terrible vengeance, to daggers, *aqua tophana*, &c. &c. After this, when Basil Davydoff asked him, in presence of Poggio:—"Know you his principle and mine?" He answered, smilingly, "*Yes, Poggio is a terrible man.*" When confronted with the latter, Pestel confessed having had with him the conversation above reported: "*but,*" added he, "*without dramatic action, there was no need to inflame Poggio—I found him ready for all.*"

† By the same means—by caresses and flattery—Ryléieff declares, that in an interview which he had with him, Pestel endeavoured to win him, then newly initiated, and to discover his principles, developing several political opinions, many of which were contradictory. By turns, says Ryléieff, he shewed himself a citizen of the United States of America, and a partizan, now

former, on two occasions, with the proposal of a junction between the two societies, that they should act in concert, and direct their efforts to one only and the same object, determined by the conspirators of the south. In 1824, Pestel came himself. On his return into the south, he gave the assurance that he had accomplished all the desired arrangements; that the societies of the south and the north had combined; that, at first, he had experienced much opposition; but that, finally, having exclaimed, when striking the table in a moment of impatience, "*Do as you please, we will have the republic!*" all had adopted his principles and views. Still the assertions of the members of the St. Petersburg society are entirely different. Ryléieff affirms that their only object in joining the society of the south was, to watch Pestel, and to oppose him; but that, to their regret, they had not succeeded. According to Nikita Mouravieff, Pestel, on his arrival at St. Petersburg, at a meeting composed of Prince Troubetzkoy, Obolensky, Nicholas Tourgueneff, Ryléieff, and Mathew Mouravieff Apostol, after having complained of the inaction of the society of the north, —of its want of union and fixed principles,—of the difference existing between the rulers of the north and those of the south (the south had Boyars, and the north had not),

of the fundamental laws of England, now of the constitution of the Spanish Cortes; a terrorist, and a Buonapartist. Among other things, after having advanced that England was indebted to her laws for her riches, power, and glory, he almost immediately agreed with Ryléieff, that those same laws had grown old, that they no longer suited this century, *that they presented a heap of defects, and that they could only be admitted by the blind vulgar, by merchants, lords, or shortsighted Anglomanes.* As he eulogised Napoleon, Ryléieff, having observed to him that there never could be any Napoleon more, and that the ambitious themselves should, for their own interest, take Washington rather as their model; Pestel replied,—"That is true; but, if even a Napoleon should come to us, we would not lose him."

proposed to cast the two societies into one—to give the title of Boyars to the principal members of that of St. Petersburg,—to have the same chiefs,—to make the decisions of the Boyars be always passed by a plurality of votes, and to oblige them, as well as all the rest, blindly to submit to such decisions. The proposal was acceded to, according to what Prince Serge Troubetzkoy said to Nikita Mouravieff, who had not been present at the sitting. "This by no means pleased me," says Mouravieff, "and when shortly after Pestel came to me, a discussion arose between us. Pestel said that, before all, it was necessary to get rid of every member of the imperial family,—to force the synod and the senate to declare our secret society the provisional government of the empire, with unlimited powers; that this provisional government, after having received the oaths of all Russia, and distributed among the members of the society all ministerial offices; the command of the armies and corps, and other public posts, could gradually, and in a few years, introduce the new order of things. I thought this plan at once barbarous and unfeasible."* After this interview, Nikita Mouravieff undertook to shew, at a second meeting

* The plan of Nikita Mouravieff was as follows, taken from his own depositions. He wished to:—

1st. Complete the project of a constitution, and circulate a multitude of copies among all classes;

2d. Excite a revolt in the army, and then publish this project;

3d. Following the progress of the rebellion, organize in all places occupied by the insurgents those new authorities of which he proposed the institution, and alter the tribunals;

4th. If the imperial family should refuse to accept his constitution, to modify it and propose the esablishment of a republican government, which, however, was not to take place but in a case of *extreme necessity*; for Mouravieff asserts, that towards the close of 1822 he had changed his principles, and acknowledged the advantages of the monarchical over the republican form.

of the society, that a complete blending of the two associations of the north and the south was impossible, by reason of the distance, and of the diversity of opinions; that in the north, each one followed his own; while it was understood that, in the south, no one dared to contradict Pestel; that thus the plurality of votes would be nothing but the expression of his individual will; that he had not informed them how many Boyars there were in his society; and that, further, he reserved to himself and to them the right of creating new ones. Mouravieff added, "That he would never be the blind instrument of the decisions of the majority, which might be contrary to his conscience; and that he would have liberty to leave the association." This discourse produced great effect. Pestel was obliged to agree to leave things in their old state till 1826, and then to have a meeting of the plenipotentiaries, charged to determine, for the two societies, the same principles and the same chiefs. "*From this moment*," says Nikita Mouravieff, "*the principal members of the association of St. Petersburg remarked in him a manifest cooling: he no longer showed any confidence in them; and although he had promised to make known his project of a constitution, he never sent it, nor did he furnish any information concerning the laws or composition of the society of the south.*" With regard to Prince Serge Volkonsky, Nikita Mouravieff says, that he came to St. Petersburg after Pestel (probably his second journey), but that he was not charged with any mission; and that he limited himself to eulogizing the unanimity with which the societies of the north and south proceeded.

In the latter, a lively impatience to come to results and disturbance manifested itself incessantly—an impatience tempered only by the sense of great weakness. The *committee of Vassilkoff* was particularly led away by

this fiery activity. It traced plans, and decided on enterprizes which Pestel himself declares that he found unfeasible; and they were decided on without the concurrence of the *directory of Toulczyn*, which, however, they made acquainted with all. This *committee* multiplied the initiations. It was the first to open a correspondence with the Polish society, as has been said above, and to it was discovered another secret society, called the *United Slavonians*, which was neither very numerous nor remarkable by the social station or talents of its members. It only existed during two years. The first idea of it was conceived in the year 1823, by a sub-lieutenant of artillery, Borissoff, who secured the co-operation of his brother, and of a gentleman of Volhynia, named Lublinski. Borissoff drew up, and Lublinski translated into Polish, the form of oath to be taken by those who should enter this association, and also a catechism *of the Slavonian*. In this catechism, after divers common-places, about nature, instruction, and prejudices, "on the simple language which characterizes magnanimity—on the chicken style of slavery," &c., the following passages occurred:—

"*Trust no one but your friends and your sword arm. Your friends will assist you, and your sword will defend you. You are a Slavonian, and on your native soil,—on the banks of the seas that bathe it, you will construct four ports,—the black port, the white port, the Dalmatian port, and the frozen port; and in the middle you will raise a city, and in the heart thereof, by your power, you will place on the throne the Goddess of Enlightenment, &c. Such are your desires, make sacrifice of the tenth part of your revenue, and you will live in the hearts of your friends.*" The oath imposed an engagement to secrecy, and to exertion for the good only of the Slavonians, and it was added, "*If I forfeit my word, I shall*

be punished both by my own remorse, and by this dagger on which I take my oath: may it be thrust into my heart; may it destroy all those whom I hold dear; and from that moment may my life be but a chain of unheard-of sufferings." The object of the society was to combine, by a federative union, and by the same republican government, (without prejudice, however, to their respective independence,) eight Slavonian countries, the names of which were inscribed on an octagonal seal:—*Rutssia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary,* with *Transylvania, Servia,* with *Moldavia* and *Wallachia.* All the depositions agree that, to the end, there were no means conceived for realizing this project. In establishing the society of *United Slavonians,* Borissoff's only care was to multiply the number of members; and, to give it weight, he assured his proselytes that it was very powerful,—that the centre was at St. Petersburg,—that it had ramifications in all the countries inhabited by Slavonians, and that it had been founded by an illustrious Moldavian prince, who was not just then in Russia. These were so many falsehoods; as he finished by acknowledging to Bestoujeff Rumine, to whom he confessed the design with which he had invented these fables. He has repeated these avowals before the commission. When Borissoff, and the other members of the society of *United Slavonians,* became acquainted with Serge Mouravieff and Bestoujeff, they amounted to thirty-six, most of them being young officers of artillery. Some among them belonged to infantry regiments of the third corps. This corps was then encamped near the small town of Lestchine: they daily saw there, besides Mouravieff and Bestoujeff, many other members of the society of the south, Colonels Scheikovsky, Tiesenhausen, Artamon Mouravieff, Vronitzky, and Major Spiridhoff.

Bestoujeff was charged to direct the *United Slavonians* towards *his end.* He had no difficulty in convincing them of the eternal impossibility which would oppose itself to the accomplishment of their own designs. He added, that the duty of a Russian was to strive for the reformation of Russia, before occupying himself with other nations proceeding from the same stock; and then, speaking *in the name of his numerous and powerful society, which had extended its ramifications through all the empire, in the name of the supreme government, which an impenetrable mystery concealed from the eyes of even the majority of its own members,* he invited them to assist in his labours, and to submit wholly to his authority.

The society of Slavonians joined that of the south—that is to say, the committee of Vassilkoff—and the new members were sworn on an image which Bestoujeff detached from his neck, and which they kissed. After having apprized them that they must labour, by means of the armed force, to overturn the existing order of things, he divided them into sections. The chiefs of these sections, who were—for the artillery Gorbaczewski, and for the infantry Spiridoff,—were styled intermediate, and it was through them that Bestoujeff communicated with the society of the south. Bestoujeff afterwards shewed them the plan of new republican laws; and assured them that Prince Troubetzkoy had, in the course of his travels, submitted it to the best foreign politicians, who had all approved of this political code. He, in fine, engaged them to gain over the soldiers, and warned them to be prepared for operating an insurrection, agreeable to his orders, not later than August 1826, at the review which would take place at Belaia-Tserkoff, and perhaps even sooner. In conformity with this notice, the meetings at his house,

and at Mouravieff's—meetings at which assisted the above mentioned members of the society of the south, and many of that of the *Slavonians*,—both one and the other incessantly apprized them of the imminence, the utility of a revolution, inflamed their zeal, and excited their imaginations. They at first insinuated, and afterwards pointed out in clear and precise terms, the indispensable necessity of attempting the life of the Emperor Alexander, and exterminating *all his dynasty*. "*But that is opposed to God and religion*," said one of the members of the Slavonian society (Gorbatchefsky). "Not at all," cries Serge Mouravieff; and he began reading extracts from the Bible, by which he strove to shew, with the aid of false interpretations, that the monarchical form of government was displeasing to God. "*We must*," said Bestoujeff, speaking of the imperial family, "*we must cast their ashes to the winds*. We have not to fear what took place in France. There it it was the people who commenced the revolution, and not the army. Neither had they in France prepared a good constitution. Constitutions succeeded each other; and all things presented grave obstacles; while, among the heads of government, the consuls, there was an audacious man, of vast genius; but we have taken precautions against all this."

At the period of these interviews and negociations, the members of the committee of Vassilkoff were on the point of raising the standard of rebellion without delay. They received intelligence that one of their members, Schveikovsky, had been deprived of the command of his regiment. Schveikovsky was in despair, as were also his accomplices, both by reason of the interest they took in him, and because they beheld the means of securing the cooperation of the regiment, of which he had been the head, thus disappear. In a first movement of fury they resolved

to rouse the 3d corps, (the 8th and 9th divisions of infantry, the 3rd division of hussars, and the artillery of these divisions), and to march against Kieff, after having solicited the advice and assistance of Pestel. They wished also to send assassins. Taganrog and Colonel Arlamere Mouravieff offered themselves. "*You are necessary to us for your regiment,*" answered they. Bestoujeff declared, that, to accomplish this crime, he would find fifteen persons among the Slavonians, and others who did not belong to the society, but whose principles and characters authorized the fullest confidence. He prepared a list of them; but among the individuals who figured therein, not all had accepted this horrible commission. There were others to whom Bestoujeff did not explain the object, reckoning, no doubt, on the general oath which they had taken, and on their blind obedience.

Nevertheless, the conspirators soon abandoned this project. Restored to himself, Schveikovsky supplicated them, *with tears in his eyes,* not to sacrifice themselves for him, *and to adjourn the enterprize.* They consented, all perceiving the impossibility of success; but they interchanged promises *to begin without fail* in 1826. Then it was that, by the murder of the Emperor Alexander, they would give the signal for a general explosion, force the Senate to proclaim the constitution which they had chosen, and form three principal camps, one near Kieff, under the command of Pestel; another in the neighbourhood of Moscow, under the orders of Bestoujeff Rumine; and a third in the environs of St. Petersburgh; Serge Mouravieffe Apostol was to repair to Huillus *to take the command of the guard.* All these plans appeared to them easy of execution; but one of them, Colonel Tresenhausen, who had occasionally evinced great ardour, and had even proposed the formation of a fund, for the enterprizes

of the society, and acknowledged, that, to contribute thereto, he would sell even his wife's wardrobe, said to them, "Begin in a year!—scarcely will you be able in ten!" Artamon Mouravieff was obstinate for some time in rejecting all thought of adjournment, and talked of proceeding to consummate the murder at Taganrog. Serge Mouravieff Apostol and Bestoujeff, on the other hand, asserted that they placed but little faith in his offers, and that they regarded him as a bully of crime, more furious in word than deed. Before the commission he himself has confirmed the truth of all the expressions, and the existence of all the designs attributed to him by his accomplices.

At the removal of the camp from Lestchin the conspirators separated, but remained full of their plans for 1826, recommending it anew to the *United Slavonians*, through the channel of Bestoujeff. He repeated to them that the review at Belaia-Tserkoff would offer a favourable occasion for bringing about a change; he again boasted to them of the powers of the society, *which for the future would have no further need to increase the number of its members;* pretended, while demanding of them the most sacred blood, that no blood would be shed; and advised them, enjoined them to make sure of accomplices among the artillery-men, subalterns, and private soldiers. Some attempted to execute this order, but most frequently without success. When, after fallacious promises, they said *that the time was come to withdraw from the injustice of their chiefs, mostly Germans,*—"*We believe nothing of the kind,*" answered the soldiers; "*these are mere tales;*" or, "*We will join you if there be no rebellion, nor any other evil.*" Some even inquired, "*But all this, is it not contrary to our oaths—and does the Emperor know any thing about it?*" This candour and credulity was unhesitatingly in-

sulted by the answer, "*That all was in conformity with their oaths, and that the Emperor would be made acquainted therewith.*"

The directory of Toulczyn was, as has been above stated, apprised of the intentions and acts of the Committee of Vapilkoff. Sierge Mouravieff himself had already a seat among the directors. Pestel declares, in his answer, that he was far from approving of their plans; that he knew the execution of them to be impossible; and that he foresaw that even in 1826 nothing decisive could be undertaken. But according to other depositions he had frequently said, "*Mouravieff is impatient and fiery; however, if he make a successful beginning I will not be behind hand.*" He repeated the same words after the death of the Emperor Alexander; for the deep and unanimous grief of the nation had changed neither the sentiments nor essential views of the conspirators. One of the members of the class of Boyars, Theodore Valkoosk, sent about this time, a remarkable letter to Pestel, dated Koursk:—"*There is an event,*" said he, "*of which the Society might have taken advantage, had it been prepared at a given point; but the opportunity has passed, and now we must see what the new government will do. If it take false steps, the number of malcontents will be swelled, and consequently our forces increased. In the opposite case public prosperity will no doubt be accompanied with a greater degree of liberty, and we can all the more easily double our efforts for its (the government's) overthrow.*" Many of the accused, and witnesses, declare that the conspirators had already resolved that on the 1st of January 1826, when the regiment of Viatka, of which Pestel was colonel, was to be on guard at Toulczyn, they would arrest the commander-in-chief of the second army, with his *chef-d'état major*, and cause a general insurrec-

tion, when the information of Captain Mayboroda proved the existence of the secret society, unveiled all its plans, and led to the arrest of Pestel.

Meanwhile the society at St. Petersburgh also showed a restless activity, which went on increasing from the time Ryléieff had succeeded Prince Serge Troubelzkey in the *directory*. Ryléieff, as also Alexander Bestoujeff, whom he had withheld, and who was one of the *superior section* since April 1825, both of whom were closely united by friendship, and a perfect conformity of opinions, tastes, and pursuits, were the most ardent in propagating their principles, and augmenting the number of their accomplices, though Bestoujeff pretends that he knew, from his first sitting in the *section of the believers*, the nullity of their forces. He declares that from that time till the 27th November, looking on the labours of the society as mere pastime, he was thinking how to quit it without forfeiting his word, or breaking with his colleagues; and, that to accomplish this, his intention was to proceed to Moscow in the course of the winter, to marry there, and afterwards to live for some years in foreign countries. He and Ryléieff brought many members to the society, either directly or through the medium of others, and among them were several who were afterwards the criminal actors in the disturbances of the 14th of December, such as Nicholas and Peter Bestoujeff, Suthoff, Panoff, Lagenchoff, Prince Odoievsky, Prince Lebessine Rostoosky, William Kuchelbeether, Torson, and Arbouzeff, an officer of the battalion of the marine and the guard. It was through the medium of this latter, that Ryléieff influenced the minds of some young officers of this battalion, who were not members of the Society of the North, nor of that of the South, now forming a separate one of themselves, but who were fond of meeting to pass bitter censures on the course of the go-

vernment, to extol the constitution of the United States of America, and to abandon themselves to the vain chimera of establishing a republic in Russia. These meetings, which were not very frequent, were presided over by Arbouzoff and Zavalichine, another young officer of marines, recently returned from long travelling. This last persuaded his companions that he belonged to *a mysterious and universal order of restoration*, which numbered among its members the most remarkable men of every country, and the object of which was to reform all the governments in Europe and America. He added that he had made known the statutes of his order (which, according to the opinion of Bestoujeff, who had read them, were conceived in an equivocal spirit, half monarchical and half republican) to the Emperor Alexander, soliciting his authority for the formation of a similar institution in Russia. He was equally of opinion, as is shewn by the deposition of the naval ensign, Belaieff, the elder, that the great obstacle to the changes which he had projected would always be in the Emperor and in the members of his august family: wherefore he was at first inclined to transport them out of the empire; but subsequently he, and especially Arbouzeff, declared it was better to exterminate them all. This idea when started terrified the others, but they gradually accustomed themselves to look on it with *sang-froid*. Thus it was that they were preparing to become the agents of a society of which they were hardly aware—at least Arbouzeff had only mentioned it very vaguely to them.*

* One among them, Divoff, was eager in shewing himself more blood-thirsty than his brethren, Arbouzoff and Zavbchine, a madness which he himself admits. Zavalachine states, that his discourse and conduct, at least in the outset, were but the effect of an artifice suggested by the best intentions. That since his boyhood he had believed, when reading the sacred Scriptures, that he had any mysterious revealings calling on him to bring back the reign of truth,

It was about the same time, that is, in the course of the year 1825, that the members of the Directory of the North became acquainted with Captain Yakoubovitch, who had just returned from Georgia. Alexander Bestoujeff revealed to him the existence of the secret society, and proposed that he should belong to it, a proposal of

and that he then conceived the idea of *an order of restoration.* "At first," he says, "I had no other object than the triumph of the truths of religion; but after having visited England and California, I associated political views with this primitive object. I wished to bring about a counter revolution in Spain, without kindling a war; and also under the pretext of forming new republican states in the other parts of the world, to allure from Europe those men of turbulent minds who desired only change and disturbance. I brought the statutes of the *order of restoration,* which I had sketched after those of the Order of Malta, to the knowledge of the Emperor Alexander. His Majesty praised my zeal, but would not countenance my project, which afflicted me deeply. Shortly after, having had the misfortune to league myself with *that perfidious villain Ryléieff,* I became aware of the existence of a society inimical to the government; but the Emperor was then at Warsaw, and, actuated by a silly vanity, I would employ no intermediate agent to discover all to him. In the meantime I endeavoured to collect further details as to this society, by other agents, and I allowed myself to speak in a manner agreeing neither with my sentiments nor my intentions, and which have turned to my ruin. I spoke of *the order of restoration* as though it already was in existence. I showed the statutes thereof; not those, however, which I had submitted to the late Emperor, but others totally different, which I had prepared for that purpose. Yet in writing to mislead others, I myself was the first victim of my own deceptions. My opinions insensibly changed, my heart became polluted, and I saw not the stains. In fine, I endeavoured to persuade myself, and did persuade myself, that the intention of Ryléieff might be pure, and that, at all events, the part of informer was an odious one." After the confessions of Zavalachine, just cited, Arbouzeff, Belaieff, and Divoff declared that he had read to them with ecstacy, some verses which he said he had composed, and which were full of the most atrocious calumnies against the late Emperor Alexander. Zavalachine admits having read the verses, but affirms that he is not the author, nor does he know by whom they were composed. He adds, that in the heat of passion which marked the period of his criminal error, he was ready to utter any blasphemies, and to repeat those of others.

which, Yakoubovitch did not seem entirely to approve. "I will belong to no society," said he, "for I do not like to be led by others. *I will strike my blow*,—you can profit by it as you may think fit. For my part, I will endeavour to seduce the troops, and if I fail, I will blow out my brains; life is a burden to me." By the words "*I will strike my blow*," Yakoubovitch meant the murder of the Emperor Alexander, and declared that, in this resolution, he was influenced by a sentiment of personal revenge, which he had cherished during eight consecutive years. Expelled from a regiment of guards in 1817, for the share he had in a fatal duel, he alleged his expulsion as the cause of this incredible perversity. In the avowals which he has made before the commission, Yakoubovitch pretends that he had never any serious thought of assassinating the emperor, and that he had merely wished to astonish his accomplices by his unexampled rage and unbounded audacity. They, however, were far from doubting his intentions; and, whether from a remnant of good feeling, or for the furtherance of their individual enterprizes, they were eager in dissuading him from *an act, useless, and even prejudicial.* Ryleieff, who, later, said to Troubetzkoy, "We could *let off* Yakoubovitch, but of what use would it be?" kneeling, conjured him to wait at least one or two months, threatening, in case of refusal, either to kill him, or denounce him to the government. Yakoubovitch answered, "that he yielded to these entreaties, and that he would defer the accomplishment of his design, till the period of the review, or of the feast of Peterhof." He afterwards prolonged this delay till May, 1826, and to an indefinite term. One of the conspirators (Baron de Steinheil) heard from Ryleieff, that when Yakoubovitch was told of the death of the Emperor Alexander, he gnashed his teeth at the

impossibility of consummating the crime which he had meditated.* His design was even known out of Petersburgh. Towards the end of September, 1825, Nikita Mouravieff had revealed it at Moscow to Major-Generals Von Viesen and Michael Orloff. These, and Mouravieff himself, agreed in thinking that it was necessary to employ all possible means for preventing Yakoubovitch from executing it, and, in an extreme case, to denounce him to government. Orloff put little faith in this opinion; he regarded it as only an artifice for bringing him back to the bosom of the society, under pretext of preventing, by his influence, misfortune and crimes. The design of Yakoubovitch was communicated to Prince Serge Troubetzkoy, at Kieff, by Colonel Von Briegen; it also reached the *committee* of Vassilkoff, for Serge Mouravieff mentioned Yakoubovitch, when speaking of those who were designed for the instruments of the regicide.

During the autumn of this year 1825, another personage, Lieutenant-Colonel Batenkoff, of a very different character from Yakoubovitch, but like him, a stranger to the society of the North, although aware of the views of those who directed it, accidentally contracted a friendship with Ryleieff and Alexander Bestoujeff. Ryleieff decided on putting Batenkoff on the list of his principal auxiliaries. Bestoujeff, on the contrary, says, that he long distrusted him, and that in the conformity of his discourse with theirs, he saw nothing but a plan for sounding them. Nevertheless, one day talking with him of what might be done in Russia, under another form of government, he added, "*there are from twenty to thirty resolute men,*

* Ryleieiff, when called in upon this point, declared to the commission that Yakoubovitch had rushed into his chamber, exclaiming, "The Emperor is dead! It is you, and the rest of them, that have snatched him from my grasp."

prepared for anything that could insure a change of this nature."—"*I should hold myself unworthy of the Russian name,*" replied Batenkoff, "*if I did not join them.*" Shortly after, Ryleieff, having come to see Bestoujeff, exclaimed "*How unjust you were in suspecting Batenkoff: he is one of us.*" From this time they treated Batenkoff as their most intimate accomplice, concealing neither their hopes nor designs from him, at least their principal design, that of changing the government; but it appears that they succeeded in misleading him, as to the power and means of the society. Batenkoff affirms, that he only sought for amusement, in his conversation with Ryleieff and Bestoujeff, in the first instance. He wished to shine by his wit, and the boldness of his conceptions; but afterwards, when had lost a lucrative office in the council of military colonies, carried away despite of himself by an unforeseen concurrence of circumstances, and yielding to the impulse of a wounded self-love, he shared their guilty hopes, and by degrees associated himself to their plans—above all, when he had become acquainted with Prince Serge Troubetzkoy. The avowals of Batenkoff prove that his imagination, rather restless than lively, a high opinion of his talents, and also his success in the career of the public service, had always given him a tendency towards mysterious combinations, and to the movements of an unbridled ambition. Before uniting with Ryleieff, and Bestoujeff, he was one day reflecting, while on a journey, of the means by which the government might repel the attacks of secret societies inimical to its power; and judging that it would for this purpose employ other associations formed under its own auspices, he conceived the plan of a secret society, *directed against the government.* Without doubt, Batenkoff attributed to the projects which he afterwards encouraged, all the

power which he had intended for his own; he himself declares, that in his eyes Ryleieff was but the agent of the real and invisible movers of an association, the centre of which he supposed in the head-quarters of the second army. However, he wished to take advantage of his union with the conspirators of St. Petersburg, to reform according to his own notions the existing society; and in case of failure, to annihilate it, by divulging the secret of the plot, through the mediation of his connections, and by citing Prince Troubetzkoy as one of the conspirators, "*I had no doubt*," added he, "*of my being already in the midst of them.*" Events soon proved that his calculations had been false, as criminal. From day to day, Batenkoff saw himself drawn farther into the connexion with the factious. At first he had confined himself to a concurrence in their views by an agreement of opinion; he shortly began to give advice, which, sometimes at least, was sensible and moderate. Thus, one day, when listening to a discussion on pillage and massacre, in which some one (Alexander Bestoujeff, according to Prince Troubetzkoy) said, "*It would be as well also to penetrate into the palace*," Batenkoff replied, with warmth: "*God preserve us from it! the palace should be at all events the sacred guarantee of the general safety.*" Still, by other expressions, as we shall see further on, he urged the conspirators to act. They looked on him as one of their most useful supporters; for, deceiving themselves in turn, they attributed to him an influence which he never possessed over conspicuous personages in the state. With this persuasion, their first care was to flatter his vanity. Every word which he uttered was to them the depository of a profound sentiment. He happened on one occasion to say, in jest, that he could have wished to have been a commercial man, in order to *place himself at the*

head of the merchants, and to raise that dignity to a level with that of *Lord Mayor*. "*You wish to be our heads, gentlemen,*" replied Yakoubovitch: "*Be it so, but permit us to be your arms.*"

The arrival of this Yakoubovitch at St. Petersburgh, his discourses, and his avowed design, made a strong impression on Ryleieff, who at the time presided in the *directory of the north*. To use the expression of Alexander Bestoujeff, "*they kindled a fire which brooded beneath the ashes:*" though Ryleieff had previously uttered the supposition that the society would work for the ——— of the Emperor Alexander, *or rather, should an opportunity offer, would do it;* but now, perhaps on account of the intelligence from the south, he also pointed out the possibility of beginning the work in May 1826, "or even earlier." "*Wait till the Emperor's return*" (from Taganrog), "*and we'll do something,*" was his answer to the query, "*what are you doing?*" which Poutschine had charged the Baron of Steinheil to put to him, on the arrival of this new member of the society from Moscow in September 1825, whose principal inducement to join the conspirators was, by his own confession, a mistaken ambition, and disgust at seeing himself neglected and forgotten among the members of the society. Steinheil was one of those who blinded themselves least: hence Ryleieff said to him, "In the second army they wish for a democracy; this is folly—the thing is impossible: we, who are here, wish for a limited monarchy." This same Ryleieff, on the other side, and nearly at the same time, remarked in the presence of Batenkoff, that great characters could not exist under a monarchy; that good government was unknown, except in America; that all Europe, England comprehended, was groaning in slavery, and that Russia would set the example of liberation. But when they came to the question, as to what was to be

done, should the Emperor reject the conditions proposed to him, and whether they could, after the example of Spain, trust to a consent extorted by force, Ryleieff said, "those of the south will have no monarchy; *their opinion is also ours:* they further undertake *to get rid of* the Emperor on the first opportunity." Alexander Bestoujeff declares moreover, that Ryleieff and Obolensky, *apparently in accordance with instigations from the south*, had spoken also of the extermination of the whole of the royal family. Bestoujeff adopted their view, but he declares that "*his acquiescence was not sincere, and that both he and Yakoubovitch insisted on the necessity of collecting at least ten assassins for the enterprize, believing it impossible to find so many monsters, and that this was the way to avert the blow from the anointed head. I was a vociferator*," he continues, "*and not a villain. When offering myself for a frightful crime, I was persuaded that Rylcieff would resolve not to employ me—he knew too well that innocent men would be required to influence the soldiers.*" The depositions of Torson are much to the same effect; but among his facts there are some in which Ryleieff does not agree. He affirms that he had not even any certain knowledge of the resolution taken by the society of the south, for the ruin of the Emperor Alexander and his august family. He, indeed, regarded the government of the United States of America as preferable to all others; but his intention was to preserve, *for a time*, the monarchical forms in Russia, which he would only have divided into great provinces similar to the States of the American federal union. He acknowledged in his society only the right of destroying the existing order of things, and not of creating a new state, without the concurrence of the representatives of the nation (an idea strongly opposed by Pestel); in fine, to the question, "*What is to be done if the Emperor*

accepts not our conditions?" he had answered, "*Might he not be banished?*"—and his opinion being shared by Troubetzkoy, Nikita and Mathew Mouravieff, Obolensky, and Nicholas Tourgueneff, he was personally charged by the *director*, to prepare, by the assistance of some trustworthy officers of marine, the necessary means for making the fleet of Cronstadt available for the transportation. Ryleieff spoke of this commission to Torson; and on the latter remarking that the measure was hazardous, and that it were better to have the Imperial family in the palace, under a strong guard, he answered, "*No, at St. Petersburgh that were impossible; but, perhaps, at Schlusselburgh it might be done; in case of an insurrection we should have an example to follow—we know what took place at the revolt of Mirovitch.*"

The intelligence which plunged in grief all good Russians, and all right-thinking men throughout Europe, produced a very different effect on the conspirators, without however giving them pleasure; for the event on which they had built their hopes only served to prove their impotence. They learnt at once (the 27th November) both the death of the late Emperor, and the existence of the manifesto by which his Majesty had designated the heir to the throne, and the taking of the oath of fidelity to his Highness the Grand Duke Constantine, by all the inhabitants of the capital. In their meetings, the conspirators were at no pains to hide their vexation at this. Speaking to the two Bestoujeffs (Alexander and Nicholas), Batenkoff expressed himself as follows:—"*The occasion which has escaped us will not present itself again these fifty years. Had there been some good heads in the Council of State, Russia would at once have sworn allegiance to a new sovereign and to new laws. Now all is lost for us, and irrecoverably lost.*" This vexation was soon accom-

panied by a fear that the society would be destroyed. Troubetzkoy had said at first, "'tis not so great an evil; we have only to prepare for seconding those of the south, should they rebel." But he came to the conclusion formed by the other principal members, that the society should be suppressed till more favourable times. At this same sitting, Batenkoff, speaking of the oath taken on the 27th of November, added, "how easy were it to bring about a revolution in Russia!—distributing a few ukases of the senate would suffice; but Russia allows of no government but a monarchy. The prayers of the mass (or the prayers for the Imperial family) of themselves render a republic impossible—a limited monarchy is necessary, were it only as a transition." To the remark that a victorious monarch could always convert a limited authority into absolute power, he rejoined, "that might be remedied: why call men to the throne?—Have we not an Empress and sundry Grand Duchesses?"

The directors of the Association of the North, Ryleieff, Prince Troubetzkoy, Prince Obolensky, and their most intimate advisers, did not long entertain the idea of a definitive or even temporary dissolution of their society. They were soon apprised of the immoveable determination of his Highness the Czarovitch not to accept the crown, and this intelligence revived their hopes. They flattered themselves that they might deceive a part of the troops and of the people, persuading them that the Grand Duke of Constantine had not renounced the throne, and, under this pretext, stir them to revolt, by means of which revolution, the government and established order of things were to be overturned. "To conciliate opinion," says Ryleieff, "we resolved" (that is, himself, Obolensky, Alexander Bestoujeff, and Kahovsky, in their own name, and in that of all the members of their *sections*,) "to appoint Prince Troubetzkoy

absolute chief or dictator, though one of us, Alexander Bestoujeff, thought this title ridiculous. From this moment Prince Troubetzkoy was the sole director of all measures." Prince Troubetzkoy, however, declares, that Ryleieff was the soul of the conspiracy, that he ruled all the plans and operations of his accomplices, and that he merely used the name of the pretended dictator. Yet Troubetzkoy was not less active on his part. On the 8th of December he had a consultation with Batenkoff, on the measures to be taken for the accomplishment of a revolution, and on the future mode of governing the state. For this purpose, they adopted the following plan, proposed by Batenkoff, if the name of plan may be given to projects unconnected and unfounded, and which agreed neither with the condition of Russia nor with any rational notion on the organization of bodies politic. The conspirators were to profit by the opportunity—

1st. For establishing, after the action of the existing power had been stopped, *a provisional government*, which should ordain the formation of provincial chambers, charged with the election of deputies.

2d. For constituting two *legislative* chambers, one of which, the upper chamber, should be composed of members for life. (Batenkoff had wished to make them hereditary.)

3d. For rendering subservient to the execution of these designs, the troops who should refuse to take the oath of allegiance to your Majesty, preventing all excess on their part, but endeavouring to increase their number.

Afterwards, and to give guarantees to the constitutional monarchy, measures should be taken—

To form the provincial chambers, which were to be so many provincial legislatures:

To change the military colonies into a national guard:

To place the citadel of St. Petersburgh in the hands *of*

the municipality, which citadel was, on this account, called by Batenkoff, *the palladium of the Russian liberties*, and in which were also to be placed the municipal council, and the civic guard :

To declare the universities of Moscow, Dorpat, and Vilna, independent.

After developing these views, Batenkoff observed to Troubetzkoy, that if all the troops should refuse to take the oath, and his Highness the Czarovitch should in consequence resolve on coming to St. Petersburgh, the project would be unfeasible ; in which case the conspirators ought to divide themselves, and the one party to declare for the Grand Duke Constantine, and the other for your Majesty. Should the balance incline towards the former, one of two things must, according to him, be the result—either your Majesty would agree to a change in the existing order of things in Russia, and to the establishment of a provisional government ; or, Sire, that you would adjourn your accession to the throne ; and then the conspirators, declaring such adjournment to be an abdication, would have proclaimed the august heir to your Majesty, his Highness the Grand Duke Alexander.

Prince Troubetzkoy replied, that in all probability only a very small number of troops could be rallied to their cause ; and that among the superior officers not one would take part in the enterprize. "*In that case, we must think no more of it*," replied Batenkoff. But while concerting these subversive plans, they did not understand, or they deceived each other. Troubetzkoy and his adherents destined Batenkoff to the office of secretary general to the provisional government, while he was preparing himself to be one of its members, and in that hope was already abandoning himself to all the illusions of unbounded ambition, and to the idea of becoming an *historical character*. He intended,

when named a member of the provisional government, to associate with himself a prelate, and subsequently Prince Troubetzkoy. "Thus," said he, "sure of a majority" (he thought that he might govern Troubetzkoy), "I should direct the state, and convert the provisional government into a regency, during the minority of Alexander II." Batenkoff moreover believed, from the hints of Troubetzkoy, that the oath taken by your Majesty to the Czarovitch would be considered as a renunciation of the throne, and that, *according to what he had heard from Ryleieff*, probably at the moment of revolutionary explosion, the life of your Majesty might be attempted. "Then," continues Batenkoff, "after having gradually confirmed my authority, and strengthened myself by the establishment of an hereditary aristocracy, and by the connections which I should have formed therewith, my course would be ruled by circumstances. But in the event of the Emperor having accepted our terms, I should have ranged myself under his banner, and I would not have accepted functions in the provisional government. For the rest, I never felt very certain that the enterprize would be carried into execution."

Others, however, were already preparing for its execution. Ryleieff went to the place appointed for general rendezvous; conspirators arrived from all parts with plans and proposals, or to receive instructions from the directors. In these, their last days, their conventicles presented a strange mixture of levity and bloodthirstiness; and at the side of a turbulent opposition to the legitimate authorities was seen a passive obedience to an unknown authority, which they believed themselves to have chosen. On the 12th of December, we learn from an eye-witness, the Baron de Steinheil, that at Ryleieff's were assembled Prince Troubetzkoy, the Bestoujeffs, (Nicholas, Alexander, and Michael,) Obolensky, Kahovsky, Arbouzeff,

Répine, Count Konovnitzine, Prince Odoievski, Suthoff, Poustchine, Batenkoff, Yakoubovitch, and Stchepine Rostoffski; but not all together. Some entered as others departed. Nicholas Bestoujeff and Arbouzeff answered for the marines of the guards. The Bestoujeff, officer in a regiment at Moscow, answered also for his company, but not so strongly. Répine began by offering himself as guarantee for a part of the Finland regiment: afterwards he would only answer for some few officers, adding, that none of those who were to take part in the revolt would be in a condition to carry that regiment with them. Prince Odoievski confined himself to repeating, in a tone of maudlin enthusiasm, "*We will die—with what glory we will die!*" Alexander Bestoujeff and Kahovsky shewed themselves *ardent terrorists*, prepared to commit the most horrible crimes. The first harangued in these words: "*I pass the Rubicon, and I shall cut down all in my way.*" But he protests that it was only a vain bravado and abuse of terms. Kahovsky exclaimed: "We shall do nothing with these philanthropists: the business is simply this—to massacre them all. If this be not consented to, I shall go and denounce myself." At these words, Steinheil shrank back with terror, and Ryleieff said to him, "Fear nothing; I lead him at will, and shall know how to retain him." Nevertheless, on the following day, Ryleieff, in presence of Obolensky, and the elder Poustchine, who had just arrived from Moscow, and of Alexander Bestoujeff, said to Kahovsky, embracing him, "*My dear friend, you are alone on the earth; you ought to sacrifice yourself for the society: assassinate the Emperor.*" At the same moment all the rest present pressed him in their arms. Kahovski promised to obey. His intention was to penetrate, on the 14th, into the palace, or to await your Majesty on the steps; afterwards he declined the

proposal, shewing that it could not be executed, in which all were equally agreed.*

On the evening of the 13th they had a meeting, no less numerous, and accompanied by the same disorder. All spoke, and scarcely any one listened. Prince Stchepine Rostovski astounded his accomplices by a flow of empty words. Kornilovitch, just returned to the capital, maintained that 100,000 men were ready in the second army: and Alexander Bestoujeff answered the objections of the younger Poustchine, as follows: "*At least, we shall have a page in history.*"—"*No doubt,*" returned Poustchine; "*but the page will sully it, and cover us with shame.*" Baron Steinheil, convinced more and more of the nullity of the society's means, and, besides, as a father of a family, more alarmed than another at the probable consequences of a revolutionary movement, having addressed Ryleieff in these words: "*Is it possible that you think of acting?*" The latter answered, "*Yes, doubtless; yes, we will act.*"

* Such is the deposition of Prince Obolensky, who, however, adds, that all *this took place in a moment of exaltation.* Ryleieff's explanations are as follow:—"Originally," he says, "I more than once exposed Kahovsky's design of attempting the life of the Emperor Alexander. I had even very lively disputes with him on the subject, endeavouring to calm him by the assurance that, in case of need, no arm but his own should be employed by the Society to deal this blow. But, on the day in question, suddenly alarmed by the probability of a civil war, I thought, that to prevent it, the life of the Emperor ought to be sacrificed! Kahovsky, on the contrary, says, that Ryleieff designed him for an attempt of this nature, and that he refused; and that Ryleieff and Alexander Bestoujeff particularly extolled the self-denial of those who, sacrificing not only their lives but their honour to the Society, should consent to exterminate all the imperial family, and afterwards deny, even in the hour of execution, that they were connected with the Society. They named such persons *the purely devoted.* In the confrontation, however, Kahovsky has acknowledged that Alexander Bestoujeff had engaged him, when they were alone together, to defer executing the commission given him by Ryleieff on the 13th of December.

He also said to Prince Troubetzkoy, who began to evince some apprehension, "*We must die, one way or the other; we are all devoted to death.*" Then shewing a copy of the letter which sub-lieutenant Rostovtzoff had addressed to your Majesty, he added, "*You see we are betrayed. The court already knows much, but not all; and our forces are yet sufficient.*"—"*Our scabbards are broken,*" said another; "*we cannot hide our swords.*"

In the midst of these colloquies, debates, and exclamations, some horrible proposals were made afresh. The total extermination of the Imperial family was spoken of; but only cursorily, if we credit the conspirators. As regards the sacred life of your Majesty, Prince Obolensky, Alexander Bestoujeff, and, finally, Prince Troubetzkoy, thought it must of necessity be attempted. Troubetzkoy, the dictator, enjoined them to spare the Grand Duke Alexander, and to proclaim him Emperor. Troubetzkoy does not expressly avow this; nor does he deny it, declaring that he could not render an account to himself of his actions or his words, *seeing that he was out of his senses; and that for this reason he dares not term the evidence of his accomplices calumnious.* Yakoubovitch, at a moment when five of the conspirators were assembled, proposed to draw lots to decide which among them should assassinate your Majesty. All remaining silent, he said, "*As to myself, I don't undertake it; I have a good heart. I had wished to revenge myself; but I cannot become an assassin in cold blood.*" Some conspirators advised that it would be sufficient to arrest your Majesty and all the august family. Steinheil cited, as an example, the Swedish revolution of 1809. Ryleieff closed the discussion by saying, "*that circumstances would shew what was to be done.*" He asked for a map of St. Petersburgh and a plan of the winter palace. Alexander Bestoujeff then said,

with a laugh, "*The Imperial family is not a pin; it cannot hide itself when its arrest is the question.*" The conspirators were already positively informed that on the following day, the 14th of December, your Majesty's manifesto on your Majesty's accession to the throne was to appear. The attorney-general, Krasnokoutzki, member of the Society of the South, had apprised them that the Senate would meet at seven in the morning to take the oath. On the evening of the 13th, Krasnokoutzki went to the house of Prince Troubetzkoy, and not finding him, proceeded to Ryleieff. This latter, as also Kornilovitch deposes, that, after having communicated to them the intelligence, he added, "*Do what you please.*" But Krasnakoutzki does not admit this, and maintains, that, hearing all around him repeat, "*To-morrow the oath will be taken; this is our signal,*" he guessed the intentions of the conspirators for the 14th of December, wished to communicate the same to the government, and did not, simply because he thought the execution of the plot impossible.

The principal agents had already communicated their designs to the other members of the society. It was agreed to urge the soldiers to revolt, by expressing doubts as to the renunciation of his Highness the Czarovitch; and that, with the first regiment which should refuse to take the oath, they should go to join the regiment nearest to it, and so on, till they had seduced them all, one after the other. *They should also beat the drum, to draw the people together*, said Prince Troubetzkoy, remembering the words of Batenkoff. It was further resolved, to assemble all the troops whom they should have gained over in front of the Palace of the Senate, and there await the measures which the government might adopt. The conspirators, and above all, Prince Troubetzkoy, as he himself affirms, sup-

posed that your Majesty, so far from employing force against the rebels, would immediately renounce the rights of sovereignty, and enter into a negociation with them. In that case they would have made known the following wishes:—

1st. That deputies should be convoked from all the governments.

2d. That on this subject a manifesto of the Senate should be published, specifying that these deputies would have to vote new organic laws for the government of the empire.

3d. That, in the meantime, a provisional government should be established, and deputies summoned from the kingdom of Poland, *in order to adopt the measures necessary for the conservation of the unity of the State.*

In case your Majesty should decide on inviting his Highness the Czarovitch to repair to St. Petersburgh, the conspirators would have required a cantonment without the city, where they would encamp notwithstanding the winter, and there wait for the arrival of his Imperial Highness. They were, however, to insist not the less on the convocation of deputies, under pretext that their presence would be equally necessary, whether to supplicate the Czarovitch to accept the throne, or to take a solemn oath to your Majesty. Finally, supposing that the Grand Duke Constantine should arrive at St. Petersburgh, they hoped to persuade his Imperial Highness, that all this insurrection was only the effect of the devotion they entertained for his person.*

* Kahovsky asserts, that Ryleieff intended to commission some member of the society to assassinate the Czarovitch in public, and to exclaim immediately that this murder had been commanded by your Majesty. "*Thus,*" said he, "*at one blow, we destroy them both.*" Ryleieff declares that this is a calumny; and his declaration is supported by Steinheil and Alexander and Nicholas Bestoujeff, to whose testimony Kahovsky had referred.

This, according to Prince Troubetzkoy, was the plan which they had communicated to each other. Ryleieff limits himself to declaring that the troops which they should have succeeded in rousing, were to repair to the front of the Senate, and that their chief, Prince Troubetzkoy, *would act according to circumstances*; that they hoped to avoid the effusion of blood, and to obtain, through the medium of a Senate forced to support their wishes, the adhesion of your Majesty, or that of the Czarovitch, to a convocation of deputies, *charged to point out the sovereign, and to establish a representative government.* It was proposed to submit to them the plan of a constitution drawn up by Nikita Mouravieff. Prince Obolensky adds, that in the mean time the Senate would have engaged in instituting a provisional government, composed of two or three members of the Council of State, and of one member of the secret society, who should fill the office of secretary general to this government; that the command of the guard would have been given to a head of a corps and to heads of divisions, chosen from among persons particularly known to the conspirators; and that the citadel of St. Petersburg was to be delivered to them. In case of failure, Prince Troubetzkoy and Ryleieff agree in affirming, that they were to evacuate the city and to strive for the propagation of the rebellion.

Such was their blindness, at least in the beginning, that they could not foresee even the possibility of a check. In the morning of the 13th of December, Batenkoff said to Ryleieff, "It appears that success is certain." Baron Steinheil, though less subject to illusions than the rest, nevertheless employed himself in drawing up a manifesto, which declared, "*that the two Grand Dukes*" (your Majesty and his Highness the Czarovitch) "*having renounced the throne, and rejected the glorious title of 'Father of the*

Country,' it was for the country herself to choose a sovereign, and that therefore the Senate appointed a general convocation of the deputies of the empire, and in the interval a provisional government." Prince Troubetzkoy noted on a paper, which was found at his house on the evening of the 14th of December, the principal points of a manifesto, which was to announce, in the name of the Senate, the dissolution of the old government and the institution of the provisional government, charged with the convocation of deputies from all the provinces of Russia.

Some of the conspirators thought of transmitting intelligence of their enterprise to other places. John Boustchme forwarded, by means of the officer of the American Company, a letter to Moscow, addressed to Councillor Semenoff. "We should have justly merited the title of base," he wrote, "had we let the present opportunity pass, which is unique. When you receive this, all will have been done. There are sixty of us here, and we can reckon on one thousand five hundred soldiery, whom we shall persuade that the Czarovitch has not renounced the throne. Adieu. Bestow a tear on us if we ——." In concluding his letter, he charged Semenoff to shew it to Major-Generals Von Viesen and Michael Orloff, who, it was thought, from their previous opinions and connections, would be secretly disposed to favour the views of the society. Prince Troubetzkoy was of the same opinion; for, on the 13th, when sending a letter to Mouravieff Apostol, by his brother Hippolitus Mouravieff, he wrote also to General Orloff, by Sirstorvieff, an officer of the Chevalier-guards. These letters did not reach their destination. Troubetzkoy declares that he only invited General Orloff to St. Petersburg, without stating his reason, but adding, "*if any event be at hand, it will take place without you, just as though you were here.*" If we believe

the prince, he only wrote from a persuasion that, even without belonging to the society, General Orloff, by his presence and by the strength of his character, would have succeeded in checking the fury of many members whom he, the dictator, had no longer power to restrain. He tells us, that the same motive, the consciousness of his weakness, had induced him one day to solicit his colleagues' permission to return to the 4th corps, *to organize something*, though he knew that there he had no accomplice, and that instead of going thither direct, his intention was to proceed to Moscow.

As the conspirators drew near the moment fatal to themselves, and which they had fixed, some of them evinced an increased ardour, and their chief an increased irresolution. Already he betrayed his remorse, or at least his fears; "but," said he to Ryleieff, more than once, "if only a small number of troops assemble at the spot, one or two companies for example, why need we join them, why run we and the rest to certain ruin?" On this point Ryleieff sometimes agreed with him; at others, he answered—"*If but fifty men should come, I will join their ranks.*" Yet he did not keep his word.

Notwithstanding the doubts and fears which agitated him, Prince Troubetzkoy did not openly renounce the exercise of his dictatorial power, and it was resolved that on the following day he should repair to the square of the Senate to place himself at the head of the troops who should refuse to take the oath to your Majesty. Captain Yakoubovitch and Colonel Boulatoff, were to command under him. Boulatoff, a weak man, and not depraved, was a few days before ignorant of even the existence of a secret society, but he had been thought necessary, because having served in the grenadier corps, he had left behind him honourable remembrances, and also because the soldiers

retained a sincere affection for him. On the 6th of December, Panoff, a lieutenant in the same regiment, invited him to dine with some other officers. Thus caressed, and heated by wine and argument (they had designedly eulogized, in his presence, all the first functionaries in the empire, against whom he cherished the deepest hate), Boulatoff swore to sacrifice all for the good of his country. They immediately confided to him that a society was formed for bringing about useful alterations in the State, and represented to him that his patriotism made it a duty for him to join that society; whereupon the unfortunate man gave, almost without understanding it, a promise to lend his assistance to conspirators whom he scarcely knew. Ryleieff revealed to him their designs; but Boulatoff incessantly inquired—"But where is the good of the country? I see only a change of government. Instead of the emperor, you wish to have a dictator in the person of Prince Troubetzkoy." However, he gave them hopes of his co-operation, and as though he had had a presentiment of his ruin, he with tears bade farewell to his children in the cradle, but he positively refused to go to the barracks of the grenadier regiment for the purpose of stirring up the soldiers to rebellion. On the evening of the 13th, having remarked, that on the exclamation of Ryleieff, who, in speaking of Prince Troubetzkoy, cried, "*Have we not indeed chosen an admirable chief?*" Yakoubovitch answered, with an ironical smile, "*Yes! he is finely grown.*" Boulatoff went out with Yakoubovitch, and as they walked along, said to him: "What do you think of this? Is the project of our colleagues really useful? Is it well contrived? Are they themselves strong enough?" Yakoubovitch answered: "I can't see the utility of their project, and I suspect nearly every man of them."—"Well," rejoined Boulatoff, "as all is to be discovered

to-morrow, let us promise each other not to join them, as their means do not correspond to their undertaking, and their project presents no real utility." Yakoubovitch consented. Thus all those whom the conspirators had fixed upon as their leaders on the decisive day, were preparing beforehand to abandon them.

To commence operations, Ryleieff sent to the marine barracks of the guard, Lieutenant Arbouzeff, who, since the 12th of December, had endeavoured to spread divers rumours among his company, by means of Serjeant-Major Bronzeff, and the subaltern Arkadieff, such as that they were about to exact an illegal oath from the troops; that the Czarovitch was advancing with the first army, and that of Poland, to exterminate all those who should take the oath to your Majesty; that he had already arrived at the fourth post from Narva; in fine, that the other regiments of the guard would doubtless refuse to take the oath. But Bronzeff and Arkadieff had not executed those orders, and had told him that the sailors believed none of those reports. On the 13th of December, on leaving Ryleieff, he went directly to the brothers Belaieff, both ensigns, where he found the two Bosdiscos, Divoff, and Sub-Lieutenant Gondemoff, of the regiment of Izmailovsky guards. "Gentlemen," said he, "knowing your way of thinking, I believe I may speak to you without circumlocution. To-morrow they will require our oaths. Refuse them, and prepare your companies to follow your example. We will lead them to the square of Peter the Great, where the other regiments will meet, and we will oblige the Senate to sanction a plan of a constitution, long since prepared, which will set bounds to the authority of the Emperor." He added, turning to Lieutenant Bodisco, "I hope that you will come also." "No," said the latter, "I will not bring my company. How can I act without knowing

your plan and your associates? You are in a different situation: you frequent the authors of the plot, and, perhaps, are even persuaded of its successful issue." Arbouzeff was anxious to convince him that on this last point there could be no doubt. He assured him, that he was not altogether in the secret himself, and urged him again to come; yet he left without having received the promise which he desired. Then it was that these young officers, with the exception of Gondimeff, who had retired suddenly, decided on taking part in the insurrection, to repair in the morning to their companies, and awaken doubts in the minds of the soldiers as to the reality of the Grand Duke Constantine's renunciation. Towards midnight, Yakoubovitch and Alexander Bestoujeff arrived at Arbouzeff's. In becoming acquainted with the Belaieffs, Yakoubovitch said to them—"I don't doubt your bravery, but you have not yet seen fire: rule your conduct by mine. We have no check to fear, all the guard is for us." These officers, and several others, came on the morning of the 4th of December to the sailors. The elder Bodiscos said to them—"Take the oath or not, I have neither orders nor advice to give you: listen in this matter only to your conscience." Nicholas Bestoujeff and Kahovsky joined them. The first proposed to set all self-love aside, and to elect Arbouzeff as chief. "We can put confidence in him," said he; "we are all met here for one common enterprize." Kahovsky exclaimed, "Rather die than not share in it!" and inquired if any one were in want of a poignard. Arbouzeff proposed that they should repair to the square of the senate. Bodisco answered, "I will not go unless with the whole battalion." "Gentlemen," rejoined Arbouzeff, "you are liberals in words only." On the arrival of Major-General Schipeff, the sailors, misled by their officers, refused to take the oath. The general arrested the com-

mandants of companies; but Nicholas Bestoujeff enjoined Belaieff, Bodisco, Divoff, and Speier to set those officers at liberty. At this instant, a cry was raised: "*Soldiers! do you hear those discharges? They are for the massacre of your comrades.*" And the whole battalion rushed out of the barracks, despite of the efforts of Captain Katchaloff, who endeavoured to stop them at the gate. The officers who had hitherto taken no part in the disorders, marched after the battalion when it had set out. On the way the sailors met, near the Horse Guards, Lieutenant Tsebrikoff, of the Finland regiment, who cried to them, "*In squares against the cavalry!*"

In the Moscow regiment the rebellion began sooner. Prince Stchepine Rostoffsky, the second captain, Michael Bestoujeff, his brother Alexander, and other officers of the same regiment, (Broke and Polkoff,) traversed the 6th, 5th, 3d, and 2d companies, inflaming the soldiers, and dissuading them from taking the oath to your Majesty, continually repeating to them, "They deceive us in requiring from us this oath: for the Grand Duke Constantine has not renounced the throne; he is in chains, as is also the Grand Duke Michael, the chief of our regiment." Alexander Bestoujeff added, that he came from Warsaw, with orders to oppose the taking of the oath. Michael Bestoujeff said to the soldiers, "The Emperor Constantine loves our regiment, and he will increase your pay. Down with all who do not remain faithful to him." Both he and Prince Stchepine ordered the companies to take ball cartridge for charging. "I do not ackowledge the authority of the general," answered Stchepine to Aid-de-camp-General Verighine, who had come to summon the officers to the commander of the regiment; and immediately after he ordered the soldiers whom he had excited, to take the colours from the grenadiers, and to repulse them by blows with the but end of

their pieces. He himself rushed, sword in hand, on Major-General Fredericks, whom Bestoujeff was already threatening with a pistol. Prince Stchepine wounded General Fredericks on the head, and he fell senseless; he also attacked Major-General Schenschine, commander of the brigade, who had run to the spot, wounded him severely, and continued to cut him long after he had fallen to the ground. He next inflicted several sabre cuts on Colonel Khvostchinsky, Grenadier Krassofsky, and to Subaltern Mosseieff; and exclaiming to the solders—"*I will kill you all!*" he at length succeeded in possessing himself of the colours, and setting the mutinous troops in movement towards the Senate House. On leaving the barracks, on the quay of Tontanka, he said to Alexander Bestoujeff, whom he saw near him, "*To the devil with the constitution, eh?*" "*Certainly, to the devil with it,*" answered Bestoujeff, and with all his heart, so he says. He declares also, that notwithstanding his conduct in the barracks of the Moscow regiment, and though he had there provoked revolt, his conscience had already begun to trouble him; that even in rising that morning he had, with tears in his eyes, addressed the following prayer to God:—"*O, my God, if our enterprize be just, grant us thy support; if not, let thy will be done in our regard.*"

The same means were employed to excite revolt in the regiment of grenadiers. When the soldiers came out to take the oath, the sub-lieutenant Kajevinkoff approached them, *in a state of intoxication,* as he himself admits. He says, "*Having learnt from Sulhoff that the instant fixed by the secret society for the revolt had arrived, I wished to give myself courage, and, by drinking a strong potation, had confused my senses.*" Kajevinkoff demanded of the soldiers, "*Why do you forget the oath which you have taken to the Emperor Constantine?*"

He then called to them, from the gallery, "*To whom are you taking the oath? all that they tell you is false.*" Still, order was not disturbed by these exclamations. The oath was taken, and the soldiers sat down to dinner. Then Lieutenant Sulhoff, who had also taken the oath, came to join his company, and said, "My friends, we were wrong in obeying; the other regiments have refused the oath, and have met before the Senate House. Accoutre yourselves, charge your arms, and *follow me—abandon me not!* I have your pay in my pocket, and will distribute it to you without waiting for orders." In spite of the exhortations of Colonel Stürler, commander of the regiment, nearly all the company followed Sulhoff, who continued to cry, "*Forward—abandon me not!*" While this was doing, another lieutenant, named Panoff, who, like Sulhoff, had taken the oath, ran from company to company, exciting the soldiers, assuring them that they had been deceived, and that the Emperor Constantine and the other companies would make them pay for it. At length, when the commander of the regiment, addressing the battalions, ordered them to charge their arms, and follow him against the rebels, Panoff dissuaded them from obeying: "*Let us rather join those who defend the Emperor Constantine,*" said he; and perceiving that a great number of soldiers put faith in him, he plunged into the middle of the column, and giving the signal for revolt, by a shout of *hurrah*, he placed himself at the head of several companies, whom he conducted in disorder towards the Senate House. In passing before the Winter Palace, Panoff made a movement to enter the court with a party of grenadiers; but perceiving this post occupied by the *sapeurs*, he exclaimed, "*they are not of our party!*" and returned. Arrived at the square of the senate, and finding that many soldiers began to perceive their error,

he assured them that Constantine would arrive immediately; that he would punish the treachery of the guards, and that they would be rewarded. Finally, he joined his companies to those which Stchepine had brought, and several persons, armed with poignards, pistols, and sabres, mingled among their ranks.

The commission will not here retrace all the events of that day, marked by the rebellion of a small number, and by the devotedness of all, by proofs of unanimous attachment to the throne, and by brilliant proofs of hereditary virtue in that august house, which the blind hate of the disorderly had dared to threaten.

Those events are known to you, Sire; they are known to Russia. She learnt with sorrow, with indignation, the attempts of some individuals who sought to dishonour the Russian name. She beheld, with grateful enthusiasm, their plots and criminal hopes annihilated in an instant,—in that instant of the divine blessing. The measures taken soon arrested the progress of revolt. Already the anarchy with which the rebels threatened the empire, pervaded their own ranks. The most violent continued to signalize themselves by assassinations. It appears from numerous depositions, confirmed by the confessions of Kahovsky himself, that he mortally wounded Count Milarodovitch by a pistol-shot, at the moment when that general was advancing alone towards the soldiers to undeceive them, and exhort them to return to their duty. Prince Eugene Obolensky gave him also a bayonet thrust, wishing, as he pretended, to wound his horse, and thus force him to retire. According to the declaration of Prince Obolensky, and by his own confession, Kahovsky, after having in like manner killed Colonel Stürler, threw away his pistol, saying, "*That's enough!—to day I have two on my conscience.*" It was he also who wounded with a poignard

an officer *de l'état-major* (Second Captain Hastfer). Prince Stchepine was the first who ordered the rebel troops to fire. Colonel Velho and several soldiers were wounded by this discharge. At length, William Küchelbecker dared to point his pistol at the Grand Duke Michael; but, even in the midst of the tumult of insurrection, the marines of the guard in which he stood held his arm, terrified at the crime which he was about to commit. Küchelbecker affirms that he had no wish to fire, and that he merely pretended, at the wish of John Poustchein, in order to prevent others from doing it, well knowing that his pistol, damped by the snow, could not take effect. In support of this assertion, he adds, that when he afterwards wished to shoot General Voinoff, the same pistol missed fire.

Meanwhile, of all those who had been the soul of the conspiracy—of all those who had promised to take the command of the deluded troops, Yakoubovitch was the only one who appeared on the spot of rendezvous, and he did not remain long. He abandoned the rebels, either in consequence of his agreement with Boulatoff, or, because, as he says, he perceived his error and fault. Boulatoff was present, but only as a looker-on; though, when leaving home, he had exclaimed, at the same time loading his pistols, "*It will, perhaps, be seen to-day that Russia has her Brutuses and Riegos*," personages of whom, by the way, he knew nothing but the names, as he himself with perfect frankness has admitted. Prince Troubetzkoy concealed himself from his accomplices, and came in all haste to the State Major-General to take the oath to your Majesty, flattering himself that, by his zeal, he would efface a part of his crime, and persuaded that the conspirators could not find him. He then became violently ill; and, afterwards, during the whole day, he ran from house

to house, exciting everywhere the astonishment of all who knew him, by his conduct.

At length he went to pass the night in the house of the Austrian minister, brother-in-law to his wife, the house in which Count Neselrode claimed him, by order of your Majesty. Ryleieff asserts, that not seeing Prince Troubetzkoy in his place, he made it his duty to seek him, and returned no more. Batenkoff behaved in much the same manner. On the day in question, *he rose with thoughts of his future grandeur as a member of the supreme government; but the arrival of the summons which called on him to take the oath, caused these illusions to vanish.* He still endeavoured to know what was going on; he sought out Alexander Bestoujeff and Ryleieff; but the latter having told him that the officers of a battery of artillery of the guard had revolted, and were running through the city with their pieces, this lying news filled his mind with terror; *he hastened to take the oath, without further thought of the reform of the state, or of the glory of being one of the heads of the government, and only anxious for the speedy arrest of the rebels.* At night, however, when order and tranquillity were everywhere established, he went to Ryleieff's; but, without entering his room, he contented himself with standing on the threshold, and, casting a furtive glance into the chamber, he asked, "*Well, what has been done?*" John Poustchine, who, with some other rebels, escaped from the Senate, was at Ryleieff's, and turning half towards him, said, "*Ah! 'tis you, Lieutenant-Colonel, tell us what you yourself have done?*" As soon as Batenkoff and Baron Steinheil had seen him, he retired, and trusting to the short duration of his previous intercourse with the members of the secret society, he hoped, for fifteen days, to escape the search of government. At his first examinations he perseveringly declared

that he was far from knowing the plans of the conspirators to the bottom—that these plans appeared to him impracticable, had scarcely attracted his attention, and that he felt himself guilty of nothing beyond inconsiderate purposes and audacious desires; but the proofs accumulated against him, or, rather, perhaps, the remorse of his conscience, at length prevailed, and he confirmed the depositions against him by a sincere and complete confession. All the other individuals who had more or less taken part in the rebellion, or dipped in the plots of the *Directory of the North*, denouncing each other reciprocally, soon became known to the Commission, arrested, and interrogated. Some surrendered themselves prisoners spontaneously, and among others Colonel Boulatoff. Remarkable by his singularities, and pitiable by his misfortunes, long suffering under an incurable malady, Boulatoff, who from the first had acknowledged the imprudence of the conspirators, and the illegal character of their enterprise, who had even positively refused them his assistance, and who had admired the dispositions ordered by your Majesty during the day of the 14th of December—Boulatoff, on the following day, when the most furious of the conspirators began to feel the enormity of their crime, suddenly gave himself up to a sort of rage. The thought that advantage had been taken of his name to deceive, and mislead to their ruin a regiment which loved him (that of grenadiers), and the absurd fable, spread either by levity or malevolence, that all the soldiers of this regiment who were before the Senate House would be punished with death, entirely confused his mind. "I was in this state," he says, in a letter addressed to the Grand Duke Michael, "when I presented myself to the State Major-General, to take the oath. My imagination was wandering, my brain on fire. I seemed to see the blood of the brothers

in arms, whom I loved, running round me on every side; and while at my side they were swearing fidelity to the Emperor, I lifted my hand and kissed the cross, pronouncing the frightful vow to deprive him of life. Every man who shall see my name at the bottom of the formula of the oath, will distinguish the signature of a villain!"

Still Boulatoff was not a villain—at least he was not hardened in crime. The stormy passions which agitated him soon became calmed; he discovered the falsehood of the rumours which had deceived him; in fine he came to the palace, was admitted to the presence of your Majesty, and disarmed by the first look which your Majesty deigned to cast on him. From that day till the 29th of January in the present year, when he was carried off by a fresh attack of his old malady, Boulatoff was incessantly tormented by the recollection of his horrible design, and by the thought of the noble clemency of which he had been the object. He strove to appease his remorse by avowals entirely free—for he was subject to no examination, and in dying he confidently bequeathed the fate of his children to the monarch whom his hand was to have assassinated.

The perfect tranquillity which the firmness of your Majesty had given to the capital, was undisturbed in any other part of the empire, excepting at Vassilkoff and its environs. In the city of Moscow, the entire population of which had, with enthusiasm, taken the oath of fidelity to your Majesty, as also to the heir to your Majesty's throne, a few of the members of the Secret Society, and of those who had ceased to belong to it, assembled to discuss the proceedings of the 14th of December. One named Moukhanoff, known among all the rest by the indiscretion of his projects, exclaimed in a fit of fury, "Our comrades are lost—the death of the Emperor alone can save

them, and I know a man who is prepared at least to avenge them." Even his accomplices heard him with contempt. In the south the arrest of the principal conspirators was effected in conformity with orders brought from Taganrog by Aide-de-camp-General Tchernycheff, and consequent on the denunciation of Captain Ouazboroda. When aware that their plots were discovered, the rage of the other conspirators also exhaled in vain proposals. "We must go to St. Petersburg, and assassinate the Emperor Constantine," said Poggio to Basil Davydoff, for they knew not that your Majesty had ascended the throne. "I offer both hands."—"Six will be necessary," answered Davydoff. Poggio reckoned on the assistance of Mitkeff, Prince Valerian Galitzin, Prince Obolensky, and Matthew Mouravieff.

Hearing of the arrest of Pestel and several others, Major-General Prince Serge Volkousky found means to have an interview with him. Pestel said, "Fear nothing —only save my *Code Russe*—for my part I shall reveal nothing." Nevertheless he has confessed every thing, and named all his accomplices, who were seized and sent to St. Petersburg by the local authorities, at the request of the Commission.

As early as the 29th of December, Serge and Matthew Mouravieff were arrested by the superior of the former, Lieut.-Colonel Delea, although Serge Mouravieff was not with his regiment, and on the intelligence transmitted to him by Bestoujeff Reunine, that orders had been given for his apprehension, he had endeavoured to conceal himself with his brother. Unfortunately, Colonel Gebel did not take the precaution of placing over them a sufficient guard. On the same night several officers belonging to the society of United Slavonians, Lieutenants Kouznince, Soukhinoff and Chipilea, and the second Captain Baron

Solovieff, penetrated to the room where the Mouravieffs were confined, delivered them, wounded Colonel Gebel, and took him and another officer by whom he was accompanied prisoners. It was not till then that Serge Mouravieff, according to his own assertion, conceived the project of causing the Tchernigoff regiment to mutiny. From the town of Trellesie, where he was, he proceeded towards Kovalevka, to join the second company of grenadiers, after having given orders to Lieutenant Kouzenine to bring the 5th company thither, and to Solavieff and Chepella, to excite those under their command, and to march to Vassilkoff. From Kovalevka, where he had passed the night, Serge Mouravieff Apostol, on the 30th of December, took the road to Vassilkoff with the 2nd and 5th companies, and was joined on the route by Bestoujeff Reunine, whom he had sent to Broussiloff. At a distance of eight verstes from Vassilkoff, Mouravieff learned that it was occupied by a company under the command of Major Troukhine, and gave orders to his soldiers to load their arms,—an order which Major Troukhine, on his part, had also given, but he was not obeyed, and the rebel companies entered Vassilkoff without resistance. On his arrival, Mouravieff ordered the the arrest of Major Troukhine, set at liberty Solovieff, Chipilla, and several soldiers, whom Lieut.-Colonel Gebel had caused to be apprehended, took bread and other provisions from the shops of the town without paying for them, and then set about concerting a plan of operations. He was joined by many officers, particularly by Alexander Vadkeffsky, sub-lieutenant in the 19th regiment of chasseurs, a tolerably inactive member of the Society of the South, who arrived from Belaia Tserkoff, whence he had been summoned. Serge Mouravieff strongly urged him to cause a mutiny in this regiment. "I will do my best to this end, if it

should assemble; but it seems to me impracticable," answered Vadkeffsky, and left Mouravieff. The latter at the same moment sent off an express to Kieff, hoping to find there some member of the Society, and to demand succour. He intended to proceed either to Kieff or to Belaia Tserkoff, or to Jitomir, in order to effect a junction with the officers belonging to the society of United Slavonians: At length he determined to make a movement on Broussiloff, whence he might, in one day's march, have reached Kieff, or Jitomir, according to circumstances. On the following day, the 31st of December, at noon (for he had waited the arrival of the 2nd company of musketeers), he gave orders to prepare for marching.

Before they set out, the chaplain of the regiment consented for a sum of two hundred roubles, to celebrate the divine service, and also to read to the troops a catechism composed by Serge Mouravieff and Bestoujeff Reuine, in which, by giving an arbitrary interpretation to some passages of the sacred Scriptures, they strove to shew, that a democracy was the only form of government pleasing to God. But, according to the declaration of Mouravieff, this lying catechism produced among the soldiers an impression unfavourable to his views, and he was constrained to invoke, once more, the name of his Highness the Czarovitch, and to assure the rebels that his Imperial Highness had not renounced the throne. On the road to Broussiloff he found the first company of grenadiers and the first company of musketeers in the village of Motovilovka, without their commanders. He proposed that they should join him, and urged them strongly. One part of the musketeer company consented; but all the grenadiers decidedly refused, and fell back on Belaia Tserkoff. The rebels passed the whole of the following day, the 1st of January, in Motovilovka, their

commander, Serge Mouravieff, not venturing to impose on them any fatigue of the solemnities of the first day in the year. On the 2d of January, receiving no answer from Keiff, and presuming that the news of his insurrection must have reached that place as well as Broussiloff, he directed his course to Belaia Tserkoff, and passed the night in the village of Pologhy. Having there understood from Chipilla that the troops whom he wished to secure were not at Belaia Tserkoff, Mouravieff once more changed his plan and returned towards Trilessié, to draw near the members of the Slavonian Society, and to attempt a junction with them. But between the village of Oustimovka and Korolevka, he fell in with the detachment of hussars under General Gusinar, which had been sent in his pursuit. "I ranged my companies in battle order," he says; "I commanded them to stand to their guns with the officers who remained, but not to fire a shot. The soldiers followed me, when I fell by a case-shot; and on recovering my senses, I saw the men in disorder. I sought to rally them; but, far from obeying me, they seized on Bestoujeff and myself, and delivered us to the commander of the squadron of the regiment of Marionfed, which had charged us." Matthew Mouravieff, and the other officers, were all alike made prisoners, with the exception of a third brother of Mouravieff (Hippolyte), who was killed in the action, and of Lieutenant Loukenhoff, who escaped, and was afterwards arrested at Richeenff by the local authorities. Kouznine, one of the officers taken in this affair, blew his brains out the same day in presence of the two Mouravieffs, with whom he was confined.

After having pointed out the character, the views, and acts of the associations of conspirators discovered in Russia, it only remains for the Commission to call the

attention of your Majesty to the part taken personally in these conspiracies and acts by the individuals examined in the course of this inquiry, and, in general, of all the accused, as well those named in the report, as those who have played a less conspicuous part in the plots, though many of these have participated in the most criminal. In separate notices on each of the accused, the Commission has endeavoured to establish the degree of their respective guilt, with the most scrupulous exactness. It has indicated their own confessions, the testimony of witnesses on their case, the fresh answers which they have given after such testimonies, and the explanations which they have furnished. These notices, as also the verbal processes of all the examinations, and other documents, more or less important, accompany the present report of the commission which has the honour of submitting them to the inspection of your Imperial Majesty.

30*th May*, 1826.

(Signed)

TATISTCHEFF, President, Minister at War.
MICHAEL, Grand Master of the Ordnance.
PRINCE GALITZIN, Privy Councillor.
GOLENISTCHEFF KOTOUZOFF, Aide-de-camp-General, Military Governor of St. Petersburgh.
TCHERNYCHEFF, Aide-de-camp-General.
BLUKENDORFF, Aide-de-camp-General.
LEVACHEFF, Aide-de-camp-General.
POTAPOFF, Aide-de-camp-General.

(Countersigned)

BLOUDOFF, Councillor of State.

THE END.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY SHACKELL AND BAYLIS, JOHNSON'S COURT.

00085762

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 03 December, 2015